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THE PURITANS IN IRELAND

THE PURITANS IN IRELAND
1647–1661

BY

ST. JOHN D. SEYMOUR

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PREFACE

The ecclesiastical history of Ireland during the period 1647–61, with which this book deals, is one that has been almost entirely neglected by students. Such writers on the Church of Ireland as Mant and Olden either contented themselves with inaccurate generalities, or else drew entirely upon printed works such as Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland* or Monck Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral.* The Presbyterian writer Reid has gone more fully into the period; while his successor Dr. Latimer has made use of the lists in the manuscript Commonwealth Books now deposited in the Public Record Office, Dublin. It is to these priceless volumes that I have turned for information, and from which I have drawn the major portion of the contents of this book. The examination of these page by page has resulted in the discovery of a mass of entirely new material for the ecclesiastical history of the period. That some facts have been overlooked is quite possible, though I do not think that anything of importance has been omitted, for the nature of the entries renders a slip but too easy. Of course, the vast majority of them deal with various aspects of the land question, but sandwiched in among them in a most puzzling manner we find references, not only to ecclesiastical matters, but as well to pirates, to rewards paid for the heads of wolves, or for the apprehension of priests or tories, to base money, to ships and shipping, to the administration of the revenues, to witchcraft (certainly in one instance), to the Army, &c. : the study of each of these component parts of the Commonwealth Government in Ireland might well be pursued with pleasure and profit ; and in respect of one I have attempted to do so.

I have written from the standpoint of a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, but have treated of the other Protestant denominations of the period I hope with scrupulous fairness. Almost throughout the entire book the Irish Church clergy are referred to as 'Episcopalians' for the purpose of distinguishing them from the Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists. All dates occurring between 1st of January and 25th of March in any year are given in new or modern style, except where it is otherwise stated.

In the Appendix will be found a list of all the officially-recognized 'ministers of the gospel', with their places of location, dates of appointment or of earliest allusion, and references to the same. This should prove useful to students, especially to those who are desirous of compiling clerical succession-lists for parishes or dioceses; but it would be advisable for such to look up the references carefully in the original volumes, as information will frequently be found there which the exigencies of space and other reasons prevented me from including. I regret that the references to schoolmasters are not so fully given, but this was due to my own ignorance, for I did not realize, until it was too late, that some of these men were also 'ministers', and clergy of the Irish Church.

The authorities consulted are fully given elsewhere, and need not be referred to here, except in two instances. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Reid's monumental *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, as but for it I might have overlooked many references, books, and pamphlets which proved of the greatest importance. I find that in my set of his book, vol. ii, from which I have quoted, is dated 1837, and is therefore of the *first* edition, while vols. i and iii are dated 1853, and are of the *second* edition. Patrick Adair's *True Narrative*, a contemporary account of affairs by one who took a prominent part in them, is of extreme value, though it needs correction in one or two minor points. It is to be

regretted that there are not similar books in existence written from the standpoint of an Independent or an Episcopalian.

I must gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Latimer of Dungannon for helpful suggestions; to Canon Webster, B.D., of Cork, for the loan of rare books as well as for extracts from the chapter-books of Cork Cathedral; to the Rev. H. W. B. Thompson, B.D., for copious extracts from the vestry-book of his church of St. Catherine's; to the Rev. J. L. Robinson, M.A., for extracts from the chapter-books of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin; to the Trustees of Dr. Williams's library in London, who have placed at my disposal some very scarce books; and to the gentlemen in the Public Record Office, Dublin, whose courtesy and willingness to give assistance have been alluded to by more than one writer. That the critic will find many faults in this book I cannot but feel sure; but I would ask him to take into consideration that it was written by one who lives a hundred miles from Dublin, and therefore a hundred miles from libraries and manuscripts.

ST. JOHN D. SEYMOUR.

New Year's Day, 1917.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

WITH ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

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Other authorities, of which slighter use has been made, are fully referred to in the text or foot-notes.

CHAPTER I

THE PASSING OF THE OLD ORDER

The year 1647 was one that was fraught with consequences for the Irish Church, for in it was commenced a series of events which conspired to drive her into obscurity, and well-nigh obliterated her permanently; while in her place was substituted a system of ecclesiastical government radically different. To trace the rise and progress of the latter, its overthrow, and the restoration of the Episcopal form of church government, will be our object in the succeeding pages; the whole forming an interesting, and indeed almost unnoticed, chapter in the history of the Reformed Faith in Ireland.

In the above year the Marquis of Ormond was holding Dublin for King Charles II; but fearing lest he should not be able to retain it, he determined to surrender it to the Parliament rather than that it should fall into the hands of the Confederate Catholics. At the time the metropolis was filled with Protestants, clergy and laity alike, who had fled thither from different parts of the country on the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641, or had made their way there in the following years, all of whom had suffered greatly from the hardships brought on by siege, famine, and plague. In accordance with Ormond's resolve Parliamentary troops began to come in by the end of March; on the 7th of June the Commissioners arrived accompanied and followed by a considerable number of horse and foot. On the following day some of the soldiers plundered several 'mass-houses', as well as the private residences of some Roman Catholics, and in the committal of these acts of depredation the unfortunate Protestants suffered equally. Colonel Michael Jones, one of the Commissioners, became Governor of the city for the Parliament; he was son to Lewis Jones, the 'vivacious'

Bishop of Killaloe, who had died there nine months previously. The Commissioners lost no time in making evident their feelings towards the Irish Church. On the 19th of June, the day on which the treaty with Ormond was signed, they notified the clergy that it was expected by them that they should from thenceforth cease from the use of the Book of Common Prayer.[1]

This attack on their position was not unexpected, and the clergy prepared to meet it with all the feeble strength they possessed. They assembled together, and after consultation among themselves presented an answer on the 22nd. Whatever may have been their faults in the past it must be admitted that in the hour of trial they stood up firmly for the principles which they professed, though they must have known that resistance was wellnigh useless.

Their reasons for refusing to consent to the disuse of the Prayer-Book were comprised in nine paragraphs, of which a brief collective summary is here given. (1) They held that as infallibility had ceased with the Apostles a common form of prayer should be agreed upon and prescribed in every national church, so that each might be kept as nearly infallible as possible, and protected from error; this could best be done by the use of set forms which would prevent the minister from intruding his 'private spirit' into the public prayers. (2) They believed that the form of public worship as used by them was pleasing to God and acceptable to the people to whom they ministered. (3) They quoted the Assembly of Divines in proof that the Prayer-Book was framed according to the Bible, and drawn for the most part from the liturgies of the early church. (4) They appealed both to Antiquity and to Law, to the use of set forms from primitive times, and to the fact that the Act of Parliament authorizing the use of the Prayer-Book was still in full force and unrepealed. (5) They declared that the forbearing the reading of it would be considered a grievous loss by the Protestants in Dublin, the majority of whom desired its continuance, and would also be

[1] *Egmont MSS.*, i, pt. 2, p. 413; Carte, iii, pp. 305, 308; Bagwell, ii, p. 144.

equivalent to depriving them of the daily public worship to which they were accustomed. (6) Finally, they pointed out that the fulfilment of the order would afford the keenest joy to the Roman Catholic party, and would furnish an 'open gap' for Jesuits and others to enter in through. In a closing paragraph they pathetically beg the Commissioners to 'look upon and commiserate the Protestants of this city, and therein the Ministers of the Gospel of Christ, as bruised reeds whose losses, sufferings, and pressures have been many and heavy by the violences and cruelty of our barbarous enemies the popish Rebels of this Kingdom'; and request that they may be peaceably continued in their respective churches, and permitted to make use of the Book of Common Prayer.

This document was signed by Edward Parry, the newly-consecrated Bishop of Killaloe, and eighteen clergy, viz. Godfrey Roades, Robert Parry, Robert Dixon, James Margetson, James Sibald, Anthony Proctor, Ambrose Aungier, Gilbert Deane, Randolph Inch, John Brookebanke, Edward Sing, Benjamin Culme, Henry Hall, Dudley Boswell, Richard Matthewson, Henry Birch, Joseph Ware, and John Creighton. None of the signatories took subsequent office as 'ministers of the gospel' under the Commonwealth; we find one of them, Boswell, two and a half years later suffering imprisonment for putting his principles into practice, while another, Sing or Synge, continued the use of the liturgy in distant Donegal until better days dawned.[1]

But arguments and entreaties were alike of no avail, for the Commissioners had already made up their minds to erase all traces of Episcopacy. Accordingly two days later, June 24, they issued an order to the effect that for the prevention of inconveniences that might arise through the use of the Prayer-Book and ceremonies in the churches of this kingdom, the same should be discontinued for the future; while in its stead the Directory for Public Worship, a copy of which accompanied the order, should be observed by the several ministers of congregations and other persons officiating in the

[1] For full text (from Carte Papers) see *Church of Ireland Gazette* for May 9, 1913.

several churches and chapels in and about Dublin, of which they were without fail to take notice. This order only applied to the metropolis and its environs; as yet nothing was said with respect to the rest of Ireland.[1]

This order absolutely and unconditionally forbade the use of the Prayer-Book, but as the Commissioners must have recognized that there was every likelihood of its being ignored they sent down immediately after, or with it, a message under two heads to the clergy, first a query, Whether the ministers would officiate in their several churches, not using the Prayer-Book; and, failing an affirmative answer to this, a concession, that such as would officiate might use the Directory, *or such form of service as was agreeable to the Word of God*, provided it were not the Book of Common Prayer.

But if the clergy were not to be shaken in their resolution by direct orders, neither were they to be won by trimming concessions. They met the following day, June 25, and held what appears to have been the first of a series of conferences, in which they not only consulted among themselves, but had some debate with the Commissioners. As a result of these deliberations they presented a second and longer remonstrance to the Government on the 9th of July, in which they allude to their first one, which had been presented in manuscript, and could not be recovered; apparently they had not thought it necessary to preserve a copy of it. This new document was signed by the same persons, with the exception of Proctor and Matthewson, while a new signatory, Richard Powel, appears.

In this second remonstrance they adopted a somewhat different standpoint. They stated that at their ordination they had made a solemn promise, which was equivalent to an oath, that they would minister doctrine and sacraments as God had commanded, and as this realm had received the same. Furthermore, they had taken the Oath of Supremacy, by which they acknowledged that the Sovereign was the supreme governor in things spiritual as well as temporal, and so was alone entitled to put forward or withdraw forms for

[1] Russell and Prendergast, *Report on Carte MSS.*, p. 104.

the celebration of Divine Service. Accordingly, as the Prayer-Book had been duly authorized by the Crown, the Elizabethan Act of Parliament enjoining its use being still in force, and as it was further authorized by the Canons of 1634 which had been confirmed by the King under the Great Seal of Ireland, they held themselves to be doubly pledged to its retention by their ordination vows and by the Oath of Supremacy; and pertinently add, that the disuse of it would vindicate the soundness of the argument put forward by the University of Oxford, namely, that the giving up of the Book would be equivalent to condemning the Church and State for the penalties and censures against recusants (a policy which no doubt the remonstrants had always upheld), and thus justify the imputations of tyranny and injustice made against each by its enemies. They add that the Church of Ireland was always a free national church, not subordinate to any other, but in voluntary communion with that of England: the disuse of the Prayer-Book would be tantamount to a betrayal of the liberties of that free church, would be a cause of cleavage between it and England, and would deal a blow at the spiritual life of their flocks, inasmuch as the Prayer-Book was a main part of the Reformation in the land.

Then, leaving argument, they descended to entreaty for what was admittedly their legal right. They begged to be restored to their churches and ministry, by being permitted to use the Prayer-Book in the several cathedral and parish churches, and to be afforded protection until such time as further order should be taken by a convocation of clergy and an Act of Parliament. They also desired that they might be permitted to enjoy the benefits of their church-livings during the time of their residence, and that they might still keep the monthly fast on a Friday as a day of preparation for the monthly communion.[1]

The state of utter destitution to which the clergy in Dublin were reduced by this time may be gauged from a petition which they sent up to the House of Lords in 1647, apparently when the surrender of Dublin was being made the subject of

[1] For full text see Monck Mason, p. 187.

negotiations. They stated that 'for these five years past we have lived in so poor, naked, and miserable condition that we could not but have perished if God in His great mercy had not prevented it by the bowels, charity, and pious provision of the lord lieutenant [Ormond]', and beg the lords to make speedy provision for them, 'especially for those of our Brethren who are utterly destitute', that they may all be encouraged in the service of God. They also presented a petition to the Commissioners in July, presumably on the first of the month. In it they stated that a certain proportion of bread had formerly been allowed to them for their maintenance week by week, which allowance the Commissioners had continued to them. They have learnt that the same will now cease, and so they beg for its continuance till some means of livelihood be found.

The answer they received on July 2 was callous in the extreme, and shows plainly the feelings of those in power towards the Episcopalian clergy. 'If the petitioners be preaching ministers they did ill not to bestow their pains in such churches as wanted the Ministry of the Word last Lord's Day, and render themselves thereby unworthy of relief. But if they find not themselves qualified for the Ministry they may take themselves to some other calling, and enlist themselves, if they will, in some Companies or Troops where during service they will be provided for equally with others.' From this it would seem that on the Sunday (June 27) following the order regarding the use of the Directory and preceding the above answer, several of the clergy had not officiated, either for conscience' sake, or through fear of the consequences.[1]

In the same year, possibly subsequent to the events related above, a list of the Episcopalian clergy then resident in Ireland was drawn up, together with their places of residence. It comprises ninety-one names. The majority of these were in or near Dublin, while the remainder were to be found in strong garrisons throughout the country. This list, which is

[1] Carte Papers (in P.R.O.), xx, f. 335; xxi, f. 176; *Ch. of I. Gazette* as before.

not exhaustive, at all events for the diocese of Cork, may have been put together at the instigation of the Commissioners in order to furnish them with the knowledge of when and where to strike if necessary.

Ormond still held Dublin Castle, much to the chagrin of the Commissioners, who endeavoured to make things as uncomfortable as possible for him. However, on the 28th of July he sailed from Dublin, having left the regalia to be handed over to the Government, and landed at Bristol on August 2. At his departure he was 'attended by the prayers of the distressed clergy, great numbers of whom, with their wives and children, had been kept from perishing through want by his and his lady's bounty'. About the same time many bishops and clergy left Ireland, amongst them being Griffith Williams of Ossory, who had been presented to the living of Rathfarnham four months previously.[1]

It would be imagined that by this time the death-knell of the church in Dublin had been sounded, and that the Prayer-Book had ceased to be read. But the curious point about the whole affair is that these tremendous fulminations seem to have fallen with comparative harmlessness. From the scanty and uncertain evidence at our disposal it would seem that the Dublin clergy still retained some hold over their churches, and used the Prayer-Book, often with not very unpleasant consequences to themselves or their hearers. The story is told of Lancelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin, who, feeling his end approaching, took leave of the well-affected clergy in the city on the 1st of November 1649, and gave them a farewell sermon in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Amongst those present were John and Benjamin Parry, Thomas Seele (afterwards Dean), and Dudley Boswell, while Divine Service according to the use of the Prayer-Book was conducted by William Pilsworth of St. Michael's. The Government took cognizance of this, and imprisoned all who attended the service. Notwithstanding this, one of those present, Dudley Boswell, continued his ministration as Prebendary and Rector of St. John's, no doubt making use of the Prayer-Book, until

[1] Carte, iii, p. 309; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s. v. Williams.

his death in July 1650: it affords us a pleasing glimpse of the man's character to learn that he kept his parish registers with scrupulous accuracy, entering the items with his own hand, for which present-day students should keep his name in grateful remembrance. His burial is entered on the 27th of July.[1]

There is too the oft-quoted instance of Anthony Martin, Bishop of Meath. He had fled from his diocese in 1641, and reached Dublin with his life and but little else, and had been appointed Provost of Trinity College in January or February 1645. When the order for the substitution of the Directory for the Prayer-Book was issued he disregarded it, on the grounds that the Act of Uniformity was still in force, and continued to read the liturgy in the College Chapel without let or hindrance, preaching on the heresies of the day to the crowds that flocked thither to hear him, until he was carried off by the plague about May 1650.[2]

An appointment to a parish near Dublin was made in 1649. The Corporation, on the petition of one Richard Price, exercised their right of presentation to Baldoyle, and nominated him thereto as curate.[3]

As yet church property seems to have been untouched in Dublin, though throughout the greater part of Ireland the clergy must long have been debarred from the enjoyment of their glebes and tithes. The Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral still retained the power of disposing of its property in 1649, for it met in February of that year, and amongst other enactments a lease was passed to the Chapter clerk of the rectorial tithes of St. Kevin's. Thus Cathedral life had not yet become altogether a thing of the past, as is further shown by the collation of Thomas Seele to the prebend of Rathmichael in May 1648, and his installation in October 1649.[4]

Much the same may be said of the sister Cathedral of Christ Church. The last Chapter meeting was held on the 14th of June 1647, at which a deed was signed and sealed by

[1] Ware, p. 356; *Par. Reg. Soc.*, i, pp. 61, 89.
[2] Mahaffy, pp. 284, 293; Ware, p. 158.
[3] Gilbert, iii, p. 489. [4] Monck Mason, pp. 188, 197.

Dean Margetson appointing Dudley Boswell as his substitute. Shortly after this the Dean and several of the Chapter fled to England. In August 1648, and May 1649, leases were made, which were signed by Boswell, Edward Parry, Bishop of Killaloe (Treasurer), William Bulkeley (Archdeacon), and John Parker (Prebendary of St. Michan's). The lenity of the Commissioners may be explained on the grounds that they had too much in hand at the moment to trouble themselves very much about the clergy and their doings. They knew that the strength of the latter was greatly weakened; they knew too that their own opportunity would soon come, and so they were content to bide their time.

It appears too from the Chapter-books of St. Finbarr's, Cork, that that body met on the 30th of August 1649 for the purpose of electing an Oeconomist. The acts of this meeting were signed by almost the entire Chapter, with the exception of the Dean, Edward Worth.

There is some evidence, too, that the Prayer-Book was used during this period in other parts of Ireland. When Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, was in Co. Galway in 1648, he and his companions enjoyed the freedom of using the Church Service at Portumna under the protection of Lord Clanrickard. It is also said that Edward Synge retired after 1647 to some benefices in distant Donegal, and there continued to make use of the Prayer-Book in his own and the neighbouring parishes up to the Restoration, despite the complaints that were made to the authorities in Dublin. If the necessary documents were forthcoming it is very probable that we should find many more instances of its use in the country in 1647 and the three following years, though on the other hand there were many places where the sound of the liturgy had not been heard since the outbreak of the rebellion.[1]

On the 8th of August 1647 the forces of the Parliament under Colonel Michael Jones utterly routed the Confederate army under Preston at Dungan's Hill near Trim, for which victory Jones ordered that Tuesday the 17th should be observed as a day of public thanksgiving in all the Dublin

[1] Ware, pp. 122, 569.

churches. Who officiated at these services? It is to be presumed that it was the clergy of the Irish Church, who might well join with the Parliamentary party in rejoicing over the defeat of a common enemy.[1]

With reference to the Presbyterian Church in Ulster little need be said at this particular period except in so far as it bears relation to matters which will be dealt with hereafter. The Presbytery continued to plant parishes with ministers and to maintain spiritual life and discipline in an orderly way. On one occasion Sir Charles Coote, commander of the British forces at Derry, wrote requesting that Commissioners should be sent to those quarters to deal with scandalous ministers. Though the Presbytery distrusted Coote, yet it took advantage of the favourable opportunity afforded it, and sent some of its members with a commission to correct abuses there. As a result of this several ministers were deposed. Those who chiefly concern us were Archibald Glasgoe or Glasgow, who was put out for drunkenness, swearing, and railing against religion; Robert Young, for known debauchery; and George Hamilton, for tippling, and inveighing against professors of godliness. It is almost certain that Glasgoe was a member of the Irish Church, and it is probable that the others belonged to the same.[2]

A couple of years previously the Presbytery had some trouble with a curious body of ministers whom Reid terms the 'mock presbytery', and which consisted of men, most if not all of whom appear to have been members of the Irish Church who had more or less conformed to the Presbyterian system, and had taken the Solemn League and Covenant. The members of it who reappear in this book are Daniel McNeale, William Fullerton, James Watson, James Graham, and Thomas Vesey. These and others were said to have made little or no use of the Prayer-Book, and to have formed themselves into an association to which they gave the name of a presbytery, though it had no correspondence with the regularly constituted body which met at Carrickfergus. This

[1] Meehan, *Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 313.
[2] Reid, ii, pp. 142–5; Adair, p. 140.

occurred about the close of 1644. After some disputing this new body finally submitted itself to the Presbytery, though neither side was satisfied with the other; we shall find more than once under the Commonwealth that some of its members were dealt with rigorously on the ground of scandal.[1]

On the 30th of January 1649 King Charles I was beheaded at Whitehall. This filled the Ulster Presbyterians with horror and indignation, inasmuch as they had been consistent supporters of a limited monarchy. On Thursday, the 15th of February, the Presbytery met at Belfast, and after careful and prolonged deliberation put out their *Necessary Representation*, which they ordered to be read from their pulpits, and in which they described the execution of the King as ' an act so horrible that no history, divine or human, ever had a precedent to the like '. This was answered by no less a person than John Milton in a piece of vitriolic writing in which he expresses his anger at these ' blockish presbyters ' who are set in the ' pontifical see of Belfast . . . a barbarous nook of Ireland ' daring to attack the Parliament for the ' justice ' done on the King. Out of this action of the Presbytery an inconvenient incident arose. Some little time previously two Presbyterian ministers, Jeremy O'Quin, an Irish-speaking native, and James Ker, had been settled, though not without some opposition, to officiate at Billy and Ballymoney respectively. When the *Representation* was published these men declined to read it, and the Presbytery found after some discussion with them that they did not absolutely condemn the murder of the King. As a result they were suspended; but three years later, when they had seen the course that the Parliament were following, they acknowledged the error of their ways and were received back into communion.[2]

If the ecclesiastical history of the period 1647–50 be so barren the opposite is true of the civil history. The latter is teeming with incidents, though, as these have been dealt with at full length by other writers, they need only be touched on

[1] Reid, ii, pp. 181–5; Adair, pp. 120–2.
[2] Reid, ii, pp. 173, 198; Adair, pp. 135, 165.

here in the briefest possible manner in order to show the general trend of events.

In 1647 Lord Inchiquin was becoming formidable in the south. Lord Lisle was appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1646 and came to Cork, where he and Inchiquin were at daggers drawn. The latter complained that Lisle's chaplains preached 'strong and direct Independency', and inveighed against the ordinances of Parliament from their pulpits, their attitude in this respect being encouraged by the Lord Lieutenant. The latter's term of office expired in 1647, and after his departure the whole authority in Munster rested in Inchiquin's hands. He took garrison after garrison, amongst them Cashel, where a terrible slaughter of the defenders took place, and after the defeat of the Confederate army at Knocknanuss, almost the entirety of Munster was in his power.[1]

On the 17th of January 1649 the treaty of peace was signed between Ormond and the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics. The papal nuncio Rinuccini, who had broken with the latter, saw that his influence was a thing of the past, and left Ireland for good in the following month. The news of the King's execution was received with feelings of horror, and influenced a large portion of the country to declare for his son; amongst those who zealously supported Charles II was Lord Inchiquin. Ormond made an attempt to win over to his side Colonel Jones, the Governor of Dublin, but not succeeding, endeavoured to capture the metropolis for his Sovereign by force of arms; he was frustrated in this design by the defeat of his army at the battle of Rathmines on the 2nd of August.[2]

Thirteen days later Oliver Cromwell arrived at Dublin, where he was received with great joy by the people. We learn that after his arrival 'the buff coat, instead of the black gown, appeared in the Dublin pulpits, that being a furtherer of preferment if valour accompanied it: to use two swords well is meritorious'. From which piece of curiously worded ecclesiastical history one is given to understand that the Anabaptists and army officers took upon themselves the duty

[1] *Egmont MSS.*, i, pt. 2, p. 374; Bagwell, ii, p. 151 ff.
[2] Bagwell, ii, p. 182; Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 1 ff.

of expounding the Gospel to the utter disregard of the Episcopalian clergy who still remained there. On the other hand, as we have already shown that church life was still to be found in Dublin, it seems probable that the above is little more than a piece of rhetoric.[1]

Cromwell left Ireland on the 29th of May 1650, after a stay of a little over nine months. What he did during that time may be read at length in the pages of Father Denis Murphy's book. Suffice it to say that he subdued the country by methods which, if eminently satisfactory from the point of view of himself and his followers, were at all events of such a nature as to cause the memory of them to be kept fresh for ever in the hearts of the majority of the people of Ireland: while as regards the civil administration of the country the Cromwellians have certainly raised for themselves a monument more enduring than brass, though the epitaph that the Irish might inscribe upon it would hardly be as laudatory as such inscriptions usually are.

It now becomes possible to pick up and follow with certainty the thread of ecclesiastical history. The state of religion in Ireland had definitely begun to engage the attention of the English Government. Though its avowed object was the utter destruction of Episcopacy and set forms of worship, and though it was an obvious part of the plan of settlement to have ministers planted through the country whose theological and political principles were what were deemed to be correct, yet in all fairness it must be said that the Parliament seem to have been genuinely anxious to establish Protestantism on as secure a basis as possible. At first, indeed, hostility was shown towards the Episcopalians, but as time wore on, and as the country became more settled, a more broad-minded spirit became apparent in the choice made of preachers. Provided a man were well-disposed towards the Parliament, and could produce satisfactory testimonials of life and ability, he was, generally speaking, accepted as a 'minister of the gospel' irrespective of his religious denomination. It is worthy of note that from the Commonwealth documents in

[1] Murphy, pp. 76, 81.

the Dublin Record Office it is scarcely ever possible to infer to what body or sect any particular individual belongs; though this has its disadvantages for the historian yet it tends to show that the Government looked rather to a man's general qualifications for preaching than to his adherence to any one particular system of church government. In dealing with recalcitrant preachers impartiality was shown by the readiness with which the authorities dealt with the offender irrespective of his denomination. But all this applies to a slightly later period; at present it will be sufficient to trace the preliminary steps that were taken to substitute the new order for the old.

A committee of the English House of Commons 'for propagating the gospel in Ireland' had been formed. This presented its report through Major Salwey, and in accordance with this the House resolved on the 8th of March 1650 that an Act of Parliament should be prepared for the abolition of the Hierarchy in Ireland and the prohibition of the Common Service Book there. Hitherto the use of the Prayer-Book had been forbidden in Dublin only, but from henceforth the order was to apply to Ireland generally.[1]

After Oliver Cromwell's return from Ireland it was resolved that four Commissioners should be sent over to assist in the government of the country, though they did not actually land until the following January. A lengthy list of instructions with respect to their administration was given them in October 1650, of which the following items concerned religion. They were directed

(1) To impose the interest of the Commonwealth of England in the dominion of Ireland for the advancement of religion and propagation of the Gospel in that country, and for the suppression of idolatry, popery, superstition, and profaneness.

(2) To give all due encouragement to, and appoint a competent maintenance for, all such persons of pious life and conversation as they shall find qualified with gifts for preaching of the gospel, and instructing of the people there in all godliness and honesty, by way of stipend out of the public revenue.

[1] *Eng. Commons' Journal*, vi, p. 248.

(3) To consider of all due ways and means for the advancement of learning, and training of youth in piety and literature, and to promote the same by settling a maintenance upon fit persons to be employed therein, as far as they shall find the present state of Ireland to permit.

(4) To cause the Acts, Ordinances, and Orders of Parliament now in force in this Commonwealth against delinquents, malignants, pluralists, and scandalous ministers to be put in execution.

(5) To cause all Acts, &c., for sequestering of delinquents' and papists' estates, and of the estates of archbishops, bishops, and deans and chapters to be put into execution.

(6) For the purpose of establishing a competent revenue, to let the issues and rents of all ecclesiastical benefices of such ministers as shall be ejected, and of all other ecclesiastical benefices as are, or shall become, vacant, for a term of not more than seven years.[1]

On folio 8 of the same manuscript mention is made of an Act of Parliament authorizing the Commissioners to put in execution in Ireland all laws and ordinances of Parliament in force in England for the punishment of profanation of the Lord's Day, blasphemy, profane swearing, as well as the abolition of the Hierarchy, and the Service-Book, commonly called the Book of Common Prayer.

Thus nothing less was contemplated than the utter subversion of the Episcopal system of church government; all church lands and property were to be applied to the use of the State, its clergy were to suffer equally, while their places were to be taken by such 'persons of pious life' as the Government should appoint to the cure of souls; while the rising generation was to be trained up in the way it should go by schoolmasters appointed by the same authority. In theory the Church of Ireland should have been utterly crushed, but in reality, as will be shown, she managed to keep alive; while at the Restoration there were to be found eight bishops and many clergy to carry on the apostolic succession and to re-edify the partially ruined fabric.

[1] A/27, f. 1.

It is clear that the ejection of the clergy from their livings was regarded by the Commissioners as at least a possibility. The reader will naturally ask the question, Was this effected, and to what extent? Before bringing forward the evidence bearing on this problem certain points must be taken into consideration.

In the first place, whatever opinion may be held on the question of 'massacres' in October 1641, it must be admitted as an undoubted fact that a number of the Episcopalian clergy were killed in cold blood by the insurgents. Of those who were sufficiently fortunate to escape with their lives, and but little else, many must have perished as a result of the hardships to which they were subjected; while some were reduced to wandering about the country in a state of destitution, and this was not conducive to longevity. Many fled to Dublin, and it is probable that their numbers there were diminished by the plague; others again went to England, or even farther afield, some of whom never returned to their native land. Of those clergy in the north who managed to retain their livings some were put out in 1642 by the Presbyterians. At any rate, even if there had been peace throughout the land, Time the destroyer would in the ordinary course of events have taken his toll of the Church in the nine years between 1641 and 1650; in addition to which it must be borne in mind that very few ordinations can have taken place to fill the gaps that thus occurred during that period. In 1647, as has been pointed out, there was drawn up a list containing the names of ninety-one clergy who were then to be found in Ireland; the number is slightly under-estimated, as there were certainly at that time some men in Co. Cork who were not included in it: on the other hand, it must be taken into account that some of those in that list left the country as a result of the action taken by the Commissioners with respect to the Prayer-Book. If succession-lists were published for every diocese in Ireland it would be possible to arrive at a fairly satisfactory conclusion; failing these, the general inference is warrantable that from such causes as time, pestilence, war, and the like, the number of clergy in

Ireland on (let us say) the 23rd of October 1650 was very considerably less than that on the 23rd of October 1641.

Thus when the Commissioners arrived, and proceeded to take action against the clergy, they would have found that they only had to deal with a small number, which was further lessened by the fact that many of these were decidedly Puritan in tendency, and not ill-disposed towards the Government. Such a one was John Newton, vicar of Athnowen in Cork, who was to be shown favour by Inchiquin in 1648 on account of his known loyalty to the Parliament; and there must have been many throughout Ireland of his way of thinking.[1]

No formal list exists of the clergy who were ejected at any date between 1647 and 1660. It is probable that none such was ever drawn up. Failing this one is compelled to be thankful for any meagre scraps of information that the records vouchsafe to yield on this important point. It is clear that some of the clergy were ejected at an early date. John Bunbury stated in 1661 that before the Rebellion he was legally entitled to the titles of parishes in Donegal, but in the year 1650 was 'outed of his rightful possession by what law or cause your petitioner to this day knoweth not'. This can hardly have been an isolated instance, though there is nothing to show to what extent the action of the Commissioners affected the clergy generally at this period. In 1660–1 numerous rectors petitioned to be restored to their livings, and it is a remarkable fact that in the majority of instances they state that the cause of their ejection from these was the outbreak of 1641, not the action of the Government. A few of them blame both; such as Nicholas Stafford, who was 'robbed, stripped, and turned out of his livings in the beginning of the Rebellion, and hath ever since been kept out of possession by the Commonwealth'. It may therefore be assumed that the ejection of the clergy in 1651 was not very widespread, though others were turned out in course of time.[2]

[1] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, p. 6. In 1615 four clergy in Cork Diocese were presented for not observing the form of prayer prescribed in the Common Prayer Book. (Brady, *Clerical Records*, iii, p. 299.)

[2] A/25, ff. 358, 406.

Of only one part of the country can it be said with certainty that the clergy were ejected at this period to any extent. This was county Cork. Two of them, John Eveleigh and Charles Vaughan, presented a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council in 1655, in which they stated that they had been ejected from their livings in that county in 1650 (perhaps 1651 N.S.) by the Commissioners of Revenue, and had their titles sequestered to the use of the State. As early as October 1652 Mr. Low and Mr. Ash had presented a petition on behalf of themselves and divers ministers within Co. Cork heretofore ejected from their ministry and benefices. Many others must have experienced similar treatment, for the author of John Murcot's life (*Moses in the Mount*), writing not later than the first half of 1653, states that by that date the ministers in Cork were ' generally articled against '. Nevertheless many of them remained in the county all through the Commonwealth period, as appears from documents to be subsequently alluded to, as well as from the statement made in 1672 by the Rev. Robert Browne that he had ministered without cessation from 1641 to 1663 to the Protestants at Fermoy.[1]

There is another important piece of evidence with respect to the question of ejection that must be considered. By an ordinance of the English Parliament in 1647 provision was made for the wives and families of ejected ministers; they were to receive annually one-fifth of the value of the benefice if they applied for it. In England this is said to have been most irregularly paid: in Ireland it seems to have been worked in a more orderly manner. On the 16th of December 1651, it was ordered that ' out of the profits of such ecclesiastical titles as were enjoyed by the ministers in Co. Cork who are sequestered a fifth part be disposed of for the maintenance of the wives and children of the said ministers '. Between that date and 1660 several applications on the part of the wives are recorded, which in each instance were granted. The money seems to have been paid in April or May of each

[1] Eveleigh and Vaughan's pet. A/4, f. 347; 1 c. 8c. 128, f. 207. Low and Ash, A/82, f. 416. *Murcot's Life*, p. 16. Browne's statement is in *Egmont MSS.*, ii, p. 30.

year. There is no record of the fifth being applied for in any other county, from which it may be inferred, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, that nowhere else in Ireland were the clergy ejected to any great extent. The reason for the Cork clergy being singled out for such unwelcome attention must be explained on the supposition that there was then in that county a considerable and influential body of them who were suspected of being sympathizers with the exiled King and the suppressed Church.[1]

[1] A/57, f. 79. For other payments of the fifths see A/12, f. 50; A/14, f. 234; A/15, f. 114; A/25, ff. 136, 212; A/91, f. 79.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST MINISTERS IN DUBLIN

Influenced by the representations made by John Owen in his famous sermon with respect to the lamentable state of religion in Dublin, and the great need for preachers, the English Parliament further advised in March 1650 that Colonel Hewson, the Governor, should fit out and set apart certain of the churches in that city as public meeting-places for such ministers as they should appoint to 'dispense the gospel' there. It was also directed at the same time that six able ministers should immediately be sent over to Dublin. Each of these was to be allowed £200 per annum, these stipends to be made chargeable in the future upon the revenues of bishops, and deans and chapters in Ireland; in the meantime, until this could be satisfactorily arranged, they were to be paid quarterly out of the public revenues of the country. In the event of any of them dying while engaged in this service competent provision was assured to their wives and children.[1]

There does not appear to be any evidence to show that six ministers were sent over to Dublin with that speed which the occasion seemed to demand. The records of payments made to preachers do not commence for nearly eighteen months later, but from these the names of the earliest ministers can be recovered.

An Anabaptist, Andrew Wyke, who had suffered imprisonment for his opinions in England, was appointed to preach at St. Michan's in August 1651; however, in the following October he received £25 for his services during those months, and was then transferred to Lisnegarvy or Lisburn at an annual salary of £120. When sending him north the Commissioners describe him as 'a man of a meek spirit, so far as we can discern'; Adair, who must have known him well,

[1] *Eng. Commons' Journal*, vi, p. 248.

speaks of him as 'void of human learning, never educated that way, but a tradesman, and imprudent'. Nevertheless, he appears to have been gifted with a tongue, if not with scholarship, for he was received in Lisburn with open arms, and is described by Major Rawdon in November as 'a rare treat, a most powerful preacher, so that the congregation at Lisnegarvy is very great, and look upon it as a very great mercy and providence'. But, as frequently happens in the case of a popular preacher, there were some who held different opinions about him. Mrs. Rawdon wrote to her brother, Lord Conway, just three years later: 'There is nothing I dislike here but Mr. Wikes, whom I never can like. You would very much oblige me if you sent a good minister here, as it is hard to live by such a one as he.' He was treated exceptionally well by the Commissioners, with whom he must have been a favourite, for it was directed in November that a house should be built or procured for him at the public charge, with some land on which to keep a horse and cows; while in the following May it was further ordered that so much land should be assigned about the house as would pasture, winter and summer, a dozen cows, and grow as much corn as would afford bread for himself and his family, the whole not to exceed a hundred acres. 'This will be some stay to his widow and charge in case he should die, and it would be of good example to take the same care for the future that all widows of godly faithful ministers may have like accommodation.' It does not appear that this excellent suggestion was ever carried out generally.[1]

Another of the new-comers was John Rogers, a man of considerable learning, but of violent prejudices. The first allusion to him in the Council Books occurs under the date 15th of August 1651; on the 29th he got £25 of his salary on account, which may imply that he had only recently come over from England. On his arrival he was provided with a convenient house in the city, and was settled at Christ

[1] A/56, f. 14; A/57, f. 20; A/89, f. 144; Rawdon correspondence in *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, pp. 383, 542. For the land see A/89, f. 200; A/90, f. 120.

Church in or about October. He was well pleased with the treatment accorded him, for in an epistle to the Commissioners he praises their 'orderly and gospel-like way of maintaining the ministry in Ireland; not only that they have enough and to spare, as I know by experience of two hundred pounds per annum, a very large allowance, and paid them tax free, and without fail, out of the Treasury of Revenues, but in that they are not troubled with the thing called Tithes, not with Parish cures, not being placed as Parish Ministers in parishes'. It appears that, despite this, all ministers were not paid such a liberal stipend, as shown by the case of Wyke; while subsequently the whole system of maintenance underwent a radical change, and one of which Rogers would have highly disapproved.[1]

Rogers speedily attracted a congregation to himself, several of the members of which delivered in their religious experiences in and after October. Amongst these were the Governor, Colonel Hewson, and his wife. It is said that Rogers, for his part, assisted Colonel Hewson in the field of battle, thus following the bad example of the notorious Hugh Peters. The explanation given by another member, John Cooper, for having joined himself to Rogers's church is worthy of being detailed, as it is interesting for more reasons than one. He dreamt one night that he was walking in company with Rogers, Colonel Hewson, and 'My Lord of Clogher' (Bishop Henry Jones). They went through a gate into a garden, wherein was a stairway on which lay a quantity of dead men's bones. Rogers then told them that they must undergo a trial of their faith. They then came to a deep pit, across which lay a small pike; along this they had to walk in order to reach the farther side. The others crossed without difficulty, but it bent and shook under Cooper, whereupon Rogers prayed, and taking him by the hand conducted him safely across. Then he conceived they entered Heaven, and spoke with the Deity. This dream impelled him to enter Rogers's congregation. The interest lies, not merely in the application of his episcopal title to Henry Jones by

[1] A/56, f. 14; A/57, f. 3; *Rogers's Life*, pp. 28–30, 32; *Ohel*, p. 28.

an Independent, but in the fact that it is possible to essay an explanation of that portion of the dream which decided Cooper in his religious views. In 1647 Jones had published a learned and valuable work on St. Patrick's Purgatory in Co. Donegal. One of the constant features in the visions seen in that place is a narrow and apparently impassable bridge spanning the gulf of Hell, across which the penitent must walk in order to enter Paradise. Evidently Cooper had either read Jones's book or conversed with him on the subject, and this particular item had remained in the recesses of his brain, until it was reproduced in a dream.[1]

A man of the character of Rogers, so strongly opposed to the main tenets of anabaptism, and so decidedly in favour of allowing women a voice in the management of church affairs, must inevitably make enemies, and scores of traducers he had, according to his own testimony; though no doubt he was as much to blame for this state of affairs as they were. It appears that amongst his congregation at Christ Church were numerous Anabaptists. This roused the ire of that body, and the Anabaptists at Waterford, where those principles were held very firmly, wrote a joint letter on January 14, 1652, to their brethren at Dublin, and sent by Adjutant-General Allen and Quartermaster-General Vernon, two of their most ardent military supporters. In it they rebuke the 'Saints' for their backsliding.

'We hear you do not walk orderly together, but are joined in fellowship with such as do fundamentally differ in judgment and practice, to wit, such as agree not with you about the true state of a visible church, nor the fundamental ordinances thereof. . . . The end of church fellowship is the observation of all Christ's commands, but this your practice crosseth in that you agree to walk with such as have not, nor practice, the Ordinance of dipping Believers, and by your communion with them in church administration you are made guilty of their sin of disobedience. . . . Many of these unbaptised persons do justify that Idol of children's baptism, and consequently the church and Ministry from whence they had it.'

[1] *Rogers's Life*, p. 29; *Challah*, pp. 393, 390 (*recté* 400).

To this there were twelve signatories, the first of which was the celebrated Anabaptist preacher Thomas Patient (or Patience). This caused a schism in Rogers's congregation, on which the latter, thoroughly disgusted with Dublin and its people, left Ireland about the 22nd of March 1652 (receiving a very good character from the Commissioners) and returned to England, where he entered on a stormy career as a violent Fifth-Monarchist. His ministry in Ireland had only lasted for about six months.[1]

Two other ministers, Thomas Huggins, an alumnus of Trinity College, and John Bywater, who appear in Dublin at this time, were associated with Rogers in his work. Both gave in the testimony of their religious experiences at St. Bride's in October 1651. In the following month Huggins was appointed to preach at St. Thomas's, and may also have officiated at St. Bride's; in June 1653 he was in Wicklow acting as chaplain to Colonel Hewson's regiment, but must have left Ireland for good shortly after as nothing further is recorded of him. Bywater was located as minister at some unspecified church in Dublin, but on the 9th of October received £10 for his preaching there, and was then directed to go to Ulster to preach at such places as should be considered most suitable by the Commissioners of Revenue acting on the advice of Colonel Venables and Timothy Taylor. His salary was to be £100 per annum. However, he must have soon wearied of this, for in March 1652 he received a sum of money to enable him to remove himself and his family out of Ireland, and after this no allusion to him is recorded.[2]

Other ministers to be found in Dublin in 1651 were John Murcot (of whom more anon), who was appointed to preach at St. Michan's, Thomas Wilkinson, and Robert Chambers. The latter subsequently preached at St. Patrick's, but in December was granted £20 to purchase horses and other necessities, as he was appointed to attend the Commissioners on their journey into Connaught. An Episcopalian clergyman,

[1] A/57, f. 149; *Rogers's Life*, pp. 29–31; *Challah*, p. 302 ff.
[2] *Challah*, p. 393. For Huggins see A/58, f. 332; A/82, f. 68. Bywater, A/57, ff. 18, 22, 135.

Thomas Coffey, was directed in October to preach at Finglas at £30 per annum on the petition of the inhabitants there, who stated that he had officiated amongst them since the commencement of the previous May. In the same year the Corporation again exercised its right of presentation to Clonturk and Baldoyle by appointing Henry Brereton thereto, he having stated in his petition to that body that he had preached there every Lord's Day for the past year to a very considerable congregation.[1]

It is indicative of the confused state of the times, as well as of the great need for ministers in Dublin and the difficulty of obtaining such, that some clergy of the Irish Church should still be found officiating in city churches, their appointments thereto being made in a most irregular manner.

Thomas Seele, the Vice-Provost of Trinity College, was 'engaged' as preacher at St. Michan's in August 1651, before Murcot was settled there, the latter event occurring in November. Presumably he was then removed, but kept up some connexion with that church, for in 1653 he celebrated a marriage there. Though he refused to act as Vice-Provost under Winter yet he is said to have preached to the Episcopalians in the College chapel, and elsewhere, until the Restoration. He will be met with again in this capacity in 1658.[2]

Dudley Boswell appears as ministering at St. John's until his death in 1650, as already noticed. He was succeeded there by Patrick Carr or Kerr, who officiated in 1651 and 1652, though the method of his appointment, or the authority by which it was made, is not known. He too will reappear under interesting conditions.[3]

Dr. William Lightburne, a prebendary of Kildare, was elected minister of St. Audoen's in September 1651, the election being confirmed and subscribed by the full consent of the churchwardens and parishioners assembled in the church, and an instrument so subscribed was subsequently delivered

[1] A/57, ff. 28, 39, 61; A/82, f. 68; Gilbert, iv, p. 14.

[2] *Irish Builder*, August 1, 1885; *Par. Reg. Soc.* iii, p. 13; Monck Mason, p. 197.

[3] *Proceedings R. I. A.*, xxxiii, sect. C, no. 7, pp. 215–16.

to him by the said churchwardens and parishioners. He may have been dispossessed in December 1652 on the appointment of Henry Wotton to that church, but still officiated in Dublin, as he performed baptisms in 1656 and 1659, the former being 'after the new manner', i.e. according to the Directory. Is he to be identified with the 'Mr. Leyborne' whom the Government considered to be deserving of encouragement in 1656?[1]

It is now necessary to see to what extent Trinity College and its affairs were affected by the new order of things. When Oliver Cromwell came to Ireland in 1649 he brought with him as his chaplain a celebrated nonconformist divine, John Owen. On the 2nd of July the House approved of the latter going thither, and allowed a sum of £100 per annum to his wife and children for their subsistence. Owen seems to have made a very short stay in the country, as he preached his famous sermon before Parliament in February 1650, in which, in an oft-quoted passage, he urged in impassioned language the religious needs of the Protestants in Ireland and in Dublin especially, a state of affairs which was only too true, but which arose, not through neglect on the part of the Episcopalian clergy, but through their enforced absence from their cures.[2]

The Provost, Bishop Martin, did not die until the middle of 1650, but before his death the Government had already commenced to take action with respect to the College. On the 8th of March an Act of Parliament was passed by which the property of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, with the farm of Ardbraccan and the parsonage of Trim, were to be vested in a number of trustees who were to hold the same for the settling and maintenance of Trinity College, the establishment of a second college, and the erection of a Free-school in the city.[3]

During his stay in Dublin Owen seems to have principally occupied himself in preaching. Possibly he gathered together

[1] *Irish Builder*, August 15, 1885; *Par. Reg. Soc.* iii, p. 8; *ibid.* iv, p. 17; A/5, f. 333; A/82, f. 464.

[2] *Eng. Commons' Journal*, vi, p. 248; Orm's *Life of Owen*, p. 122.

[3] Urwick, p. 54.

a church on the Independent principle, and it may have been this which 'warbled out her humble and thankful addresses to her elder sister in England' in a curious semi-religious poetical rhapsody entitled *Zion's Thankful Echoes*, published in London in 1649. By the Act of Parliament quoted above he was appointed one of the trustees for the College. In July 1651 the Commissioners wrote to him stating that they had examined into the present state of that institution, and had found that it was furnished with very few officers owing to the plague which was still raging, and in consequence of which they had resolved to dissolve it until the sickness should abate. Accordingly they directed him, with the advice of Thomas Goodwin and others, to consider what laws and rules should be established in the said College in order that in respect to religious and secular education it might become as efficient as possible.[1]

What followed as a result of these deliberations and orders we cannot say. At all events the next step of which there is any record, and which may have been carried out on Owen's recommendation, was one which was destined to have a marked influence, not on the history of the College only, but on the trend of religious life in Ireland. This was the appointment of Samuel Winter as Provost.

When Parliament sent over the four Commissioners it was judged fit that they should be accompanied by a 'godly, able, and orthodox divine', and Samuel Winter was selected for this purpose. He evinced great unwillingness, but after seeking counsel in prayer he accepted, leaving the living of Cottingham, which was then worth over £400 a year, and which had been sequestered into his hands from the Royalist rector, Mr. Gibson. This change was, financially, a considerable loss to him, for it is said that during his first year in Ireland the Commissioners only allowed him £100. This latter statement does not appear to be correct: the Commissioners did not land until January 1651, and on the 27th of October following Winter was paid £150 for the preceding nine months. His salary was continued at this rate, while £100 per

[1] Reid, ii, p. 228; Urwick, p. 56.

annum seems to have been attached to his Provostship. In any event he was a loser. His first recorded connexion with the College was in September 1651, when the keys of certain chambers therein were to be handed over to him. As yet he was only virtually Provost, though he is termed such in an entry of November which records his having the degree of B.D. conferred upon him. His formal appointment to the Provostship was made by Oliver Cromwell on the 3rd of June 1652.[1]

Winter was at once a shrewd man of business, an energetic worker in things spiritual and temporal, and a godly divine, broad-minded to a degree that can scarcely be realized, especially by those who lump the Puritans of the Commonwealth together, and imagine that their outstanding features were hypocrisy, love of names compounded of Biblical texts, and nasal psalmody. Hypocrites there must have been among the ministers in Ireland at this time—what period is ever entirely free from them? narrow-minded preachers there undoubtedly were—the whole tendency of the age was to be narrow and intolerant. Withal it is perfectly clear that a considerable number of these were men whose fixed purpose it was to bring the message of the Gospel to men's hearts, and amongst them the Provost of Trinity College occupies the first rank. It will detract little from this to learn that these ministers frequently fought with each other. It could not have been otherwise in an intolerant age; when men's minds are shaped in a narrow mould they cannot abide opinions that clash with theirs; in addition to which they delighted in disputations on theological questions which to our present easy-going temper seem of such trivial importance as not to be worth arguing about.

When the Provost proceeded to reorganize the College he cannot have met with as much opposition as one might expect. For, as Dr. Mahaffy has so clearly pointed out, even if its foundation were royal its doctrine was evangelical, while from the beginning its traditions had been puritanical, and so it approximated to the Independents and their tenets.

[1] *Winter's Life*, pp. 7, 8, 42; Urwick, pp. 58–9, 67; A/57, f. 32.

Furthermore, the teaching body of the newly constituted institution comprised some former alumni. Miles Symner, an ex-scholar, was made Professor of Mathematics; another ex-scholar and grand-nephew of Archbishop Usher, John Stearne, came as Fellow in 1652 to its great advantage. Other Fellows, who also acted as preachers in and around Dublin, were Nathaniel Hoyle, Henry Wotton, Edward Veale, Stephen Charnock, the Marsdens, Gamaliel and Josiah, members of a well-known Puritan family, and Samuel Mather, who came with his more celebrated brother Increase from New England. Bishop Henry Jones, the Vice-Chancellor, with all his failings showed himself a true friend of the College, for at the time of its restoration in 1651 he furnished the interior of the library with fittings, of which two staircases, with a brass commemorative tablet, still remain in the present building. Thus the College was well reorganized and put into proper working order; no radical changes were made, many of the former teachers had returned, though there must have been some like Thomas Seele who refused to serve under the new régime.[1]

Winter's anonymous biographer states that in his zeal to improve the College he 'procured the return of divers fellows and students, as also the coming over from England of several hopeful young scholars, whereby the College was suddenly replenished with many religious young men'. The truth of the first part of this statement has been made sufficiently evident; it is said that the other items are not borne out by the College registers. From Winter's general character we may assume that they are correct, and it is possible that the person in charge of the registry books may have omitted to enter them. Nor did he neglect the spiritual side of these lads' training; he preached and expounded the Scriptures to them, and often prayed with them both in the College chapel and in his own lodgings.[2]

The opinion entertained of him by his colleagues may best be learnt from the expressions made use of by them in their

[1] Mahaffy, p. 296 ff.; Urwick, pp. 60, 73; Monck Mason, p. 197.
[2] Mahaffy, p. 299; *Winter's Life*, pp. 10, 11, 36.

certificate stating that on the 17th of August 1654 the degree of Doctor of Divinity had been conferred on him. They say that he had come hither to them ' with abundant testimonials of talent, probity, teaching power, and theology ' ; and add that they have experienced ' the excellence of his virtues, the abundance of his merits, his long study and incessant labours, his knowledge, eloquence, and learning in theology, his skill in discussion, interpretation, and preaching, and many other graces and talents '. This was signed by the Vice-Chancellor and five of the senior Fellows.[1]

That the opinion of the College Staff was not always unanimously favourable towards Winter is shown by a curious document which is preserved amongst the manuscripts of Marsh's library in Dublin. This is endorsed ' To Lord Deputy Henry Cromwell against Provost Winter ' ; it is undated, but cannot have been written before November 1657, or later than about October 1658 : the signature to it appears to be ' Jo : Jo.' It is addressed to ' the right honoured and right reverend senators and fathers of your country ', i.e. the Deputy and Council, and evidently emanates from a discontented faction within the College, for the writer says :

' We are forced to strike at him whose wounds should make us bleed, in whose security alone our happiness should be reposed. The usage must needs be unnatural when children do accuse their own dear parents.'

He then goes on :

' Our faith is not so tied to think all entered into the Fellowship of the Church should be of the College too : neither can we conjecture those appeals unlawful, since that we don't desert but have recourse unto a Catholic Meeting. 'Tis probable such faults as these might even incite us to accuse ourselves, especially when we have such judges as you are, and seeing we do so to one who once was dearer to us than ourselves. The very name of Provost, poised with us in any scales but yours and Justice's, might render our complaints light, could they be weightier than they are : for faults themselves, backed by authority, are commendable : we must confess had others of as great maturity as the crimes

[1] Urwick, p. 59.

committed proposed them [the complaints'?], then it might have suited better, for these are not Undergraduate sins : your —— alone can hinder their commencing, on which we all rely. Two negatives in this will most affirm our joys ; thus we commit ourselves and our aggrievances to you : hoping that you will yet make it be our greatest happiness, that we have been thus long miserable : on you we all depend, who, though you move in a higher sphere, yet we must act as prompted by your influence, and do desire to be abused by those that abuse you. Neither can we imagine any crime equivalent unto the questioning of your jurisdiction : by which we stand together, and with which we desire to fall : You are the poles on which rolls all our future hopes of happiness. 'Twere strange that if among so many State Atlases a falling University should be destitute of one : we have a long time been ruled by those who went for good men, now let them be good scholars too, that our University may be as famous for learning as hitherto it hath been thought for piety : to you alone the founding of our University is reserved, to you alone we make address, wer't to the College, then we might desire just judges : here we only wish you'd be yourselves that we might be so too ; to whose desires if you vouchsafe a crown, Heaven may, but Earth can ne'er deny felicity.'

The cryptic style of the letter and the absence of illustrative documents prevent us from ascertaining the grounds of complaint against the Provost's rule.[1]

In the management of the secular affairs of the College Winter showed himself equally capable and energetic. Some of the College estates were situated in the remote counties of Donegal and Kerry ; to these he made more than one journey, and had as well to visit property in Meath, Cavan, and Tyrone. While on these tours, each of which lasted some months, he performed marriages, baptisms, and churchings, and kept the record of these in a little note-book, to which reference will be made hereafter, which now reposes amongst the manuscripts of Trinity College, and which forms a most valuable relic of him and his administration. At first the affairs of the College must have been in a very unsatisfactory position ; in August 1654 Colonel Sankey and other Trustees declared that ' all means had been used for the receiving the

[1] Marsh's Library, MS. Z3. 1.1, no. 72.

revenues of the College, but by reason of the great waste and destruction that is yet on the possessions no sufficient revenue can be raised to maintain the scholars there, so that the scholars that are at present there are ready to leave the College, and are like to suffer many hardships and difficulties '. Accordingly James Standish, the Receiver-General, was directed to pay out of the revenues from Custom and Excise a sum of £150 to Nathaniel Hoyle, the Bursar, the same to be applied to the relief of the scholars and members of the College and to be refunded out of the first profits arising out of the College revenues. In the following November Standish was ordered to pay Winter a sum not exceeding £500 out of concealed debts, to be expended in the same manner.[1]

Winter had come over originally as chaplain to the Commissioners. His biographer tells us that during his first year in the country he attended them in this capacity on several journeys which they made into the four provinces. In October 1651 it was ordered that certain ministers should attend at Cork House every morning at half-past eight to pray with the Commissioners for seeking God's directions on all their undertakings. Winter's turn came on Tuesday. The other appointed ministers were: Rogers (Monday), Murcot (Wednesday), Wilkinson (Thursday), Chambers (Friday), Huggins (Saturday). The order was subsequently erased, and so may never have been acted upon.[2]

Winter was a many-sided man. In addition to his work in connexion with the College (which of itself would have taxed all the resources of an ordinary individual), and his attendance on the Commissioners (which may have only lasted for a year or so), he was given a pastoral charge, and appointed to preach at St. Nicholas's Church in the city; for this he received a salary of £200. No doubt he preached there every Sunday, and in addition commenced a weekly lecture on Thursdays (not Sundays, as his biographer states) at 7 o'clock in the morning. Even the most-sought-after of modern popular preachers could hardly gather an auditory

[1] *Par. Reg. Soc.*, iv; 1c. 8c. 128, f. 75; Urwick, p. 61.
[2] *Winter's Life*, p. 9; A/56, f. 42.

at such an unearthly hour ; it speaks well for Winter's powers of preaching that he did succeed in attracting a 'frequent' congregation, amongst which were the Commissioners and the City Magistrates ; while to encourage the attendance of members of the poorer class he used to cause some white loaves to be distributed among them when the sermon was ended. One is not surprised to learn that he fell into ill-health, and that for this reason, as well as on account of the many duties that devolved on him as Provost, he found himself unable to carry on this lecture single-handed, so the other ministers in Dublin were directed in August 1654 to arrange its continuance among themselves. We also find that in February 1656 the celebrated New England divine, Samuel Mather, a man equally as broad-minded and tolerant as the Provost, was appointed to preach every Lord's Day at St. Nicholas ; he was still there at the close of 1658, so it seems probable that ostensibly acting as colleague he really took the burden of the work off the older man's shoulders. This became the more necessary because Winter's health does not seem to have improved, for in June 1656 he was about to make a three-months stay in England in the hope that he might benefit by the change.[1]

Lighter ministerial work was found for the Provost in Christ Church Cathedral. He had indeed been connected with that place of worship as early as December 1652, for it was then ordered that he, Patient, Partridge, Wotton, and Murcot should take it in turns, as agreed among themselves, to preach there every Sunday. Again, on the 21st of July 1655 he, Harrison, Patient, and others were directed to preach in turn at Christ Church on Lord's Days ; this repetition of the former order may have been due to Henry Cromwell's arrival. His biographer indeed says that he preached there *twice* every Sunday (which seems an exaggeration) till other ministers came over, and that then in order to relieve him one was appointed to officiate in the morning, while he preached

[1] A/2, f. 199 ; A/19, f. 19 ; A/85, f. 543 ; *Winter's Life*, pp. 9, 10. Mather's appointment is in A/5, f. 358. In 1656 he was thirty, and Winter fifty-three.

in the afternoon, this being reserved for him because then was the ' greatest auditory '. This is borne out by an entry in the Council Books dated 5th of February 1656, to the effect that Dr. Harrison should take the forenoon sermon, and Dr. Winter the afternoon exercise. A weekly lecture on Monday mornings at 10 o'clock was established by Lord Deputy Fleetwood and the Council in July 1655, and Winter, Patient, and others were recommended to carry this out in succession. In accordance with Independent principles Winter had ' gathered ' a church about him, and in 1659 this body represented that they were destitute of a convenient place to meet in for their weekly conference and other exercises, and requested that the east end of the north side of Christ Church (being void and without use) might be assigned to them for this purpose, they expressing their willingness to repair and fit up the same. Why did they not meet at St. Nicholas? Can it be that Winter had definitely severed his connexion with that church ere this—from other entries it would seem that this was the case.[1]

Robert Ware, in his *Hunting of the Romish Fox* (p. 228 et seq.), gives a curious version of the preceding paragraph. He says that the Sacrament in Christ Church was by the Presbyterians given standing, but that Winter for distinction sake administered it sitting, for which purpose several tables were placed lengthwise from the choir up to the altar, and that for further distinction he encouraged his followers to call each other brother and sister; by these innovations he attracted to his congregation a considerable number from the Presbyterians. When Fleetwood came over he brought with him an Anabaptist chaplain, Thomas Patient, ' a Bodicemaker or Taylor by trade ', for whom Winter was forced to make way in Christ Church, though subsequently the two were permitted to preach as often as they pleased in that Cathedral; but that Fleetwood, in order to add to Patient's congregation, gave every encouragement to the Anabaptists.

The foregoing is a very garbled version of the truth, and unduly prejudiced against Winter. To begin with, there is

[1] A/5, ff. 202, 205, 358; A/16, f. 30; A/82, f. 464; *Winter's Life*, p. 9.

no evidence (besides R. Ware's statement) that the Presbyterians were strong in Dublin at this time, or that they ever made use of Christ Church. From what is known of the Provost it may safely be said that his Christianity was too broad and deep to allow him to stoop to 'sheep-stealing', especially by the use of such peculiar means. Nor did Patient come over with Fleetwood as his chaplain; on the contrary he was in Ireland more than two years before the arrival of the latter. It is true that he officiated at Christ Church, but he was only one amongst several others, the majority (if not all) of whom were Independents; he had gathered a congregation around him in Dublin, but in 1653 its membership was gradually declining. Nor was Fleetwood so opposed to Winter and the Independents as Robert Ware hints, and as subsequent writers have stated. The evidence points the other way. In 1656 the Provost published in Dublin a small volume entitled *The summe of diverse Sermons preached in Dublin before the L. Deputie Fleetwood and the Commissioners of Parliament.* In this book he collects into one the many strong arguments for infant baptism which he had previously used in his sermons; on the title-page he states that the book is intended to controvert the opinions of (amongst others) Christopher Blackwood, a prominent Irish Anabaptist, while on p. 52 he alludes in a disparaging manner to Patient. This volume is dedicated to *Fleetwood* as well as to Henry Cromwell. Furthermore, the epistle dedicatory in the *Several Works of Mr. John Murcot* is written by Winter, and jointly addressed to Fleetwood and Henry Cromwell: in this he styles them his dear and ever-honoured lords, and praises their piety, faithfulness, zeal towards God, and ardent love of the ministers. From all this it is clear that Fleetwood, although an Anabaptist, was not a fanatical follower of that way of thinking, and that, so far from showing any hostility to Winter on account of his strong opposition to Anabaptism, he and the Provost had a mutual regard and esteem for one another, though differing in matters of doctrine.

Another point in Winter's ministerial career may here be noticed. His biographer states that he had occasion to ride

over to Maynooth, where he preached as his custom was, and found the people very attentive, and desirous of instruction; whereupon at the earnest request of the minister of the place, Richard Hopwood, and certain of the inhabitants, he went over there every three weeks and preached; and that his preaching bore considerable fruit among the English and the Irish. Roused to a generous spirit of emulation, Hopwood made proposals in August 1655 about establishing a monthly lecture at Maynooth. It is possible to date with some degree of accuracy the events here recorded. Hopwood's name first appears in connexion with Maynooth in the Civil List for 1655, and in June 1657 he was removed to Co. Limerick. Thus the Provost's visits lay between the summers of 1655–7.[1]

Another side of Winter's work is shown to us by numerous entries in the Council Books, from which it appears that he acted as a kind of perpetual president of the Board which made the selection of the ministers who were appointed to preach, and which rejected those who were deemed to be unsuitable for such a purpose.

With respect to Winter's theological views much information can be gleaned, not merely from his life and published writings, but as well from the register of baptisms and marriages which he kept in a little note-book, now treasured among the manuscripts of Trinity College, albeit the picture presented to us is at times very unsatisfactory. When on his tours through Ireland, and when resident in Dublin, he performed baptisms and marriages, and carefully entered these in his book. The need for the performance of these ceremonies becomes evident from the register itself, for more than once he notes that children of two and three years old were baptized; from the surnames it would appear that he occasionally married and baptized Roman Catholics. As has been already shown, he was strongly opposed to the tenets of Anabaptism, declaring that he found more of God's presence in the public dispensing of infant baptism than in the other events of his ministry; on fol. 87 of his note-book he records

[1] A/8, f. 159; A/19, f. 19; A/22, f. 10 a; *Winter's Life*, pp. 13, 14.

the baptism of the son of Anabaptist parents. This book includes much miscellaneous matter, but the portion comprising the register has been published by the Dublin Parish Register Society as part of its fourth volume.

But it is on account of the information vouchsafed by it with respect to the points where Winter (and others) broke away from recognized Puritanical methods, and the consequent light thrown on his character and on that of Puritanism in Ireland, that this little register becomes so valuable.

In the first place the Puritans objected to the use of sponsors. Notwithstanding this, Winter employed them on almost every occasion, and recorded their names. He terms them 'sureties', 'sureties or witnesses', 'godfathers and godmothers', and 'gossips', and is careful to observe the ancient custom of having two godfathers and one godmother for a male child, and so on. His example in this respect was followed by other ministers. He records baptisms performed by Thomas Seele, the Vice-Provost (f. 38); by Henry Brereton (f. 54 b), the incumbent of Baldoyle; by his brother (in-law !) Christopher (f. 84 b); by Dr. Lightburne (f. 83 b); by Eber Birch (f. 87), the State-paid 'minister of the gospel' at Belturbet; and by William Pilsworth (f. 93 b), an Episcopalian clergyman, who at the time was in bad odour with the Government on account of his alleged use of the Prayer-Book; and in every instance these men were careful to employ sponsors. Some of these had Episcopal orders, others had not. Furthermore, amongst those who acted as godfathers are to be found the names of Dudley Pyers (f. 53 b), evidently the person who afterwards became minister at Portumna, and subsequently Dean of Kilmacduagh; of John Kerdiff (f. 54 b), the Fellow and Agent of the College; and of James Gerard (f. 87), who is described as 'Tres. of Belterbet', in other words Treasurer of Revenues in the Precinct of Belturbet, and so a Government official. It seems a reasonable inference from the above that the use of sponsors was regarded favourably by many of the ministers and people in Puritan Ireland, and that as well Episcopalian clergy (who were not 'ministers') were permitted to use

them, and to celebrate baptisms, provided (we presume) they performed the ceremony in other respects in accordance with the rules laid down in the Directory. It should be noted that when baptizing Henry Cromwell's son in Christ Church (f. 83 b) Winter apparently did not use sponsors, as he makes no entry with respect to them.

Some other illustrative points may be noticed. On several occasions Winter 'churched' the mothers, once with a sermon; for this no form of service appears in the Directory. Did he use that in the Prayer-Book? We cannot tell. He mentions among his books in 1658 a 'little service book' (f. 90); this was presumably a manuscript collection of prayers and of forms of service. His phrascology, too, is remarkable. He speaks of Navan *church*, and of Finglas *church*, while the Council Books are careful to call such buildings *meeting-places*, their older title being sometimes added in the margin for the sake of completeness. He speaks too of *Sunday* (f. 94), and of *Ascension Day* (f. 94 b); the Council Books allude to the Sabbath as the 'Lord's Day', while the Directory forbade the recognition of festivals. He also speaks of *Michelmas* (f. 55 b), and of *Lammas* (f. 83 b), but much stress cannot be laid on this, as the first was a legal term, the other a popular one.[1]

In 1654 Winter celebrated a baptism (f. 55 b) in Co. Donegal, and is careful to record that it was performed *sine cruce*—without the sign of the cross. What is implied by this? The obvious inference would be that on all other occasions of administering baptism he made use of this sign. But when it is borne in mind that the Puritans had a rooted objection to its employment it will be seen that this inference is scarcely warrantable. The present writer would hazard the following explanation, far-fetched though it may seem. It may be, with reference to this particular baptism, that the rumour had been spread by his theological opponents that Winter had used the sign of the cross, to which his known broadness of view would lend some countenance;

[1] Ascension Day is also mentioned in the Registers of St. Michan's in 1652 (*Par. Reg. Soc.* iii, p. 8).

and so, in order to clear himself of such a charge he was careful to note that that sign was *not* used.

The character presented to us is that of a man of many qualities, and of extraordinary diligence in work, who endeavoured to carry out conscientiously the duties which devolved upon him, especially those which related to the work of the ministry. Though strongly opposed to Anabaptism he cannot be accused of sectarian bitterness, for his opposition to those principles rested on no narrow base, but was grounded on the belief that children could, and should, enter into a covenant-relation with God. When he believed it to be beneficial he broke away from the rigid principles held by many of his contemporaries; the liberality of his views is shown by his use of certain expressions, a point that to us may seem very trivial, but one which at that time implied a great deal. He approximated closely to the Evangelicalism of the Irish Episcopalians, and so must have formed a connecting-link between the Low Church party and the Independents. In his broadness of mind he did not stand alone; such another was his colleague Samuel Mather, who, when the power was put into his hands to attack the Episcopalian clergy both in Dublin and Cork, refused to do so, on the ground that he had been called into Ireland to preach the Gospel, not to hinder others from doing it; such another, too, was the godly John Murcot, who declared on his dying bed, where he was visited by Winter, that he was in charity with all the Lord's people who differed from him; and no doubt there were many others among the ministers who were equally well-disposed towards their fellow workers of a different denomination.

CHAPTER III

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

SOMETHING must now be said with respect to the manner in which 'ministers of the Gospel' were chosen, and located through the country, their payment, their meeting-places and dwelling-houses, the school-masters, &c., the more so as certain points in the system were altered for the better in and after the year 1654.

For administrative purposes Ireland was divided into fifteen Revenue Precincts, viz. Dublin, Trim (once called Tredath or Drogheda), Athy, Kilkenny, Waterford, Wexford, Clonmel, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Athlone, Galway, Belturbet, Belfast, and Derry. Each of these Precincts had its officials, amongst whom were the ministers. All such ecclesiastical denominations as dioceses, rural deaneries, and parishes were ignored, and the preachers were at first located in towns, as no doubt it would not have been safe for them to have resided in the open country; but as affairs grew more settled they were to be found in rural districts, and were occasionally given a barony as their sphere of work. Towards the end of the Commonwealth period an attempt was made to restore the parochial system, with some measure of success, but the plan was stopped by the change of government consequent on the return of King Charles II.

As in England, so in Ireland the methods by which the qualifications of a minister might be tested, and by which he was appointed to preach in a locality, varied considerably at the commencement of the Commonwealth régime, and considerable confusion appears to have existed until after the first quarter of 1654, though there is no indication in the documents at our disposal that any of the strange sects or fantastic opinions which were to be found in England took root in Ireland.

In many instances it would appear that the Commissioners in Dublin merely directed a minister to repair to such a place and preach there at a named salary. It is to be presumed that they, or some one deputed by them, had some previous conference with him in order to ascertain his religious and political views; or, if he came from England, to see that satisfactory testimonials were presented by him on his arrival. Sometimes army officers, who were either in command of garrisons or military governors of Precincts, were directed to find suitable preachers for towns needing such. At other times the Commissioners of Revenue in a Precinct were directed to examine the abilities of a preacher, and if they reported favourably upon him and gave him a satisfactory certificate, the Government would appoint him to a location and place him on salary; no doubt in many instances they availed themselves of the services of some prominent minister in making their selection. This method of appointment was adopted to some extent in Ulster at the end of 1653 and the commencement of the following year. In April 1654 the Special Commissioners sitting at Loughrea for the purpose of setting out lands for transplanted persons were ordered to appoint an 'able, godly person' to preach the Gospel at that town at a salary of £50. On one occasion a Committee appointed to examine allegations against two ministers were directed to summon certain men before them in order that they might consider their fitness for preaching. In every instance the final step was taken by the Government (whether that were Commissioners, or Lord Deputy and Council). It was by its orders that ministers were accepted or rejected, placed on salary or suspended from the enjoyment of the same.[1]

Occasionally presentations made by private individuals were permitted or let stand. The Earl of Annandale petitioned for a minister to be sent to his tenants; in February 1654 this petition was referred to Colonel Venables, Colonel Barrow, and the Commissioners of Revenue in the Precinct of Derry, who were directed to inform themselves of 'the name,

[1] For illustrative entries see A/1, ff. 4, 8, 56, 158; A/57, f. 91; A/82, f. 540. For Ulster see A/1, ff. 69, 113, 120, &c.

abilities, and fitness of such person as is to preach the Gospel unto the petitioner's tenants, and other people inhabiting amongst them', and when satisfied that a suitable man has been found they are to appoint him to officiate at the place which they consider to be most convenient, at a salary of £100. The petitioner was given fuller scope in the matter of selection than the above would seem to imply, for in the Civil List of 1654 it was noted under the Precinct of Derry that the Earl was to appoint a minister (place unspecified) at the above annual stipend.[1]

It would seem from incidental remarks in Major Rawdon's letters to Lord Conway that patrons were occasionally allowed to exercise their right of appointment, and some cases in the records bear this out, though in general the information on this point is very scanty. In one instance, however, it is full and satisfactory. Sir John Clotworthy, the friend of the Presbyterians, had raised some question about his right of presentation, and in connexion with this the following entry appears, dated February 1656: 'By an order bearing date the 11th of May last it was thought fit that the tithes of Antrim, Killead, and Carncastle otherwise Killaghlin, and other duties thereunto accustomed to be paid, should be paid into the hands of Sir John Clotworthy, and thereby the Treasurer of Belfast was required to forbear making assignments on the proceeds of the said tithes for the space of six months, within which time Sir John was to present ministers for those parishes, to be approved of by this Board. And upon consideration had of a further motion made unto this Board by the said Sir John for the renewal of the same for a longer time; it is ordered that another six months be allowed Sir John for the presenting of ministers and receiving tithes, to terminate 1 May next.' Shortly after this Sir John exercised his right, and presented Robert Hamilton to Killead, and Clinton Maund to Antrim. In the previous November Carncastle had been filled by the celebrated Patrick Adair. Had Sir John presented him thereto?[2]

[1] A/1, f. 79; A/33, f. 38.
[2] A/5, f. 371; A/11, f. 304; A/20, f. 29.

In January 1654 Hugh Barclay, an Episcopalian, then at Lifford, presented a petition the substance of which must have been that he should be permitted to remain at that place, to which it must be presumed that he had been legally appointed before the Usurpation. Lieutenant-Colonel Ebsury and others were directed to examine the case, and if they found that he had 'a good title to the tithes they are to permit him to enjoy the moiety of the said tithes, and to make up the same a comfortable subsistence for him', which in all was not to exceed £50. In the Civil List for 1654 his name appears at Lifford, at £60. At a slightly later date several men's titles were allowed, but they were reappointed to their parishes as 'ministers', not as rectors or vicars.[1]

A unique instance occurs of a presentation being made by the authority then representing the Crown. In December 1654 Oliver Cromwell wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council, stating that Ambrose Jones (brother to the Bishop and to Colonel M. Jones) was approved of as a fit person to preach the Gospel, and adding 'We desire you to confer on him the living or benefice, commonly called the parsonage of Kells in Meath, with all the rights and profits formerly belonging thereunto to the said Ambrose Jones'. It was further ordered that if the value of the living did not amount to £100, the balance was to be made up from the Treasury, or otherwise.[2]

All ministers who were approved of and appointed to locations received their salaries from the State, the source drawn upon for the money being the profits arising out of the ecclesiastical benefices, estates, and tithes which had been taken over in accordance with the directions issued to the Commissioners in 1650. These stipends were paid them on the quarter-days, though there also appear instances of half-yearly payments. It also happened frequently, if not as an invariable rule, that when a minister was appointed to a locality in the middle of a quarter his stipend was made retrospective, i. e. it was calculated as from the commencement of that quarter, and not from the actual date of his

[1] A/1, f. 68; A/33, f. 38. [2] A/28, f. 48.

appointment. This simplified the keeping of accounts, and was certainly to the advantage of the minister.

It appears from some entries that before any order was made for payment the list of ministers on state salary was scrutinized either by a committee of the Council or a mixed body of laymen and ministers, lest the names of any who were suspended for one reason or another should inadvertently be included. In April 1656 Colonel Thomas Herbert, clerk to the Council, wrote to the Receivers of Revenues in each Precinct, directing them to send him the names of such ministers as were free from any charges or grounds of suspicion, in order that he might prepare the warrants; adding that he should not commence the preparation of these until the returns were in six weeks, or a month at least, before each quarter-day. When the scrutiny was performed to satisfaction the Receiver-General of the revenues issued the money to the Treasurer in each Precinct, and the latter accordingly paid the stipends to the ministers. At first it appears that each minister had to repair to the head-quarters of his Precinct in order to receive his salary, which must have caused considerable inconvenience and expense to such of them as lived in remote parts; this was subsequently modified in February 1655, when the Receiver-General was ordered to see that each minister received his stipend in the place where he resided.[1]

The amounts of the stipends varied considerably, as may be seen from the various Civil Lists. At the top of the scale came Dr. Thomas Harrison, who enjoyed £300, the largest amount ever paid to any minister in Ireland; the next largest was that received by Dr. Francis Roberts, £250. Financially speaking, these two men were in a class by themselves. Several preachers received £200; descending further, we find such amounts as £160, £150, £120, £100, down even to £50 and £20. When the country became more settled and prosperous, and when the revenues flowed in more freely to the Treasury, many of these salaries were considerably

[1] A/5, f. 79; A/10, f. 203. Order for change, A/4, f. 419. Herbert's letter is in A/30, f. 154.

increased; but in no instance (with the two exceptions given above) did any minister receive at any time more than £200, while the majority fell considerably short of that amount. It should be borne in mind that the above-mentioned sums must be multiplied by three or four in order to arrive at a correct estimate of their present-day value—in addition to which there was no income-tax!

Divine Service was celebrated by the minister on the Lord's Day, and other occasions, in buildings which were officially designated 'public-meeting-places'. This expression will probably conjure up before the mind's eye the picture of an ugly and unpretentious Dissenting chapel; the truth is, that the 'meeting-place' was in almost every instance the old parish church. These buildings were frequently repaired by the Puritans when they desired to use them for service, and for the fact that many of these were in good condition in 1661 the Church of the Restoration was indebted to the Government of the Interregnum.

A few allusions to these buildings, selected from the numerous entries in the Council Books, may be given by way of illustration. In December 1653 the public-meeting-place at Carlow was ordered to be repaired 'for the convenient meeting of the inhabitants thereabouts for the service of God'; in the margin is written 'Carlow Church', which satisfactorily explains the nature of the edifice. However, in September 1655 the people petitioned for a grant of £150 for the purpose of erecting a meeting-place 'large enough for so great an auditory as is there'; possibly they enlarged the church, for a year later £50 was to be expended on the repairing of the chancel. In 1654 'the old church or meeting-place' at Jamestown was reported to be in a state of decay; while later in the same year it was ordered that the chancel and part of the church at Swords should be repaired for a public-meeting-place. In January 1658 the sum of £100 was to be laid out on the meeting-place at Belfast which was much 'ruinated' through having been converted into a citadel, and used as such for some years past. The 'great' meeting-place in Waterford (evidently the Cathedral) is

alluded to in July 1655, and it appears that the cost of repairing it would amount to £500. It should be noticed as a general rule that the expression 'church' is not employed, except where it was thought necessary to specify the exact building referred to for the sake of avoiding confusion, and it is quite possible that some of the meeting-places throughout the country were erected by the Government, and had no historical connexion with the ancient parish churches.[1]

When a meeting-place had to be repaired or enlarged the cost of the work in most instances fell upon the parish and surrounding district. The building was first viewed by 'indifferent and skilful persons', and the approximate cost estimated; then a tax was impartially assessed on the inhabitants of the barony or baronies, which the local Justices of the Peace were directed to see collected, if necessary by distraint of goods. Sometimes this rule was varied. In December 1656 the inhabitants of Cloyne stated that their 'meeting-place' (the Cathedral!) was out of repair, and petitioned that the rents and issues of the Economy Fund might be applied to its reparation. This request was probably granted, for the Commissioners for letting lands were directed to inquire into the value of that Fund, while at the same time the Justices of the Peace were directed to see that the chancel was further repaired by means of an equal and indifferent cess; in the meantime £40 was allowed out of the Treasury towards the work. Again, in February 1659 the congregation at Athboy, Co. Meath, made some representations touching the repairing of 'the chancel of their parish church'. In answer to this it was ordered that 'the executors of Mr. Perkins therein named are to have a sight of the petition, and, pursuant to the covenant in the lease of the parsonage, either to take care for the repairs of the chancel, or show cause to the contrary'. This would seem as if the legal obligation on the lay rector (or his equivalent at that period) with

[1] For Carlow see A/1, f. 15; A/2, f. 473; A/8, f. 170. Jamestown and Swords, A/1, ff. 94, 239. Belfast, A/25, f. 39. Waterford, A/5, ff. 210, 211. A detailed account of the repairs done to Finglas church in 1657 will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xlvi, pt. i, p. 28.

respect to keeping the chancel in good order was being insisted on.[1]

As the Puritans objected to the title of Saint, and as they did not, as a general rule, apply the word Church to places of Divine Worship, all such honorifics were carefully avoided, and the documents speak of Patrick's, Thomas's, Kevin's, and so on. The one remarkable exception to this is due to the unknown scribe who kept the registers of the marriages performed in the parish of St. Bride's, Dublin, between 1653 and 1660. In almost every instance he speaks of 'Saint Bride's Church', and, when he has occasion to do so, of 'Saint' Patrick's, 'Saint' Catherine's, and so on.[2]

Though the Service conducted by the 'minister of the Gospel' according to the Directory in the 'public-meeting-place' must have seemed strange to the Episcopalian member of a congregation, accustomed as he was to the surplice and the Prayer-Book, yet there were some familiar features retained in the new order of things. Amongst these was the use of church-bells, wherever such existed, or could be obtained, as appears from a couple of allusions. In 1655 the people at Carlow were permitted to carry away the bells from Old Leighlin and hang them in their meeting-place, already alluded to. In the previous year it was reported that a bell lay hidden in a private residence in the parish of Crumlin, Co. Dublin, and that the same would be useful for the meeting-place in the town of Newcastle; accordingly Colonel John Jones was directed to seize it for that purpose. In the Vestry-Book of St. Catherine's, Dublin, there may be found several entries with respect to the bells and their fittings; it appears they were rung there at burials, and on the 5th of November.[3]

The useful order of Churchwardens was also retained. Indeed, from the Vestry-Book of St. Catherine's it appears that a meeting analogous to an Easter Vestry was held,

[1] For Cloyne see A/11, f. 308; Athboy, A/15, f. 89a.

[2] *Par. Reg. Soc.* xi, pp. 113–15.

[3] For Carlow see A/8, f. 170. Newcastle, A/85, f. 205. V.-B. St. Catherine's, ff. 1, 3, 12, 13, 19. The bell of Finglas, which was cracked and broken, was recast in 1658 (*Journal Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland* (as before), p. 30).

though it was not called by that name. On the 13th of April 1658, the 5th of April 1659, and the 24th of April 1660, the parishioners assembled in the church, and elected churchwardens, sidesmen, and overseers of the poor. The churchwardens and overseers presented their accounts a few weeks later, and these were audited by the minister and a committee of the parishioners. The same assembly had the power to elect a sexton, to take care for the provision of an orphan, to make leases, and to pass a rule of discipline in connexion with admission to the Sacrament. Easter is mentioned, not as a festival, but as a mark of time in contradistinction to Michaelmas. This principle of parish organization must have been followed to a considerable extent under the Commonwealth.[1]

The custom of establishing lectures did not prevail to any great extent in Ireland. That at Maynooth has been alluded to in the previous chapter. Some were established at Christ Church, Dublin. A weekly lecture was set up in Cork in 1656, which occasioned some bitterness and ill-will between the ministers, but which furnishes the historian with unexpected information. From the account of Murcot and Worth's dispute with Harding it would appear that a Thursday lecture was held in that city in 1653. In 1659 it was ordered that one or more weekly lectures should be set up in the half-barony of Rathdown, Co. Dublin.[2]

Every attempt was made by the Government to accommodate the minister and his family with a suitable residence in the place to which he was appointed. This was done in various ways. The generous treatment accorded to Andrew Wyke has already been noticed, but this was exceptional, and possibly was intended to be of the nature of an experiment. Sometimes the preacher occupied the former residence of the rector of the parish, if it were in sufficiently good repair; if not, he got a grant of money towards its restoration. At other times he was permitted to erect a house on the glebe-

[1] V.-B. St. Catherine's, ff. 3, 5, 10, 11, 15, 16. The proceedings of Finglas Vestry are described in *Journal Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* (as before), pp. 27–30.

[2] Rathdown lecture, A/91, f. 180.

lands, and presumably farmed the latter. Failing this, the Commissioners of Revenue were usually directed to provide him with a house which was the property of the State; and if none such was obtainable, some other convenient residence had to be found. If this was not feasible, a new house was generally erected at the expense of the State. In nearly every instance the repairs were undertaken by the Government.

Such was the usual method of working, which was modified when the circumstances demanded it. It would seem that occasionally a minister erected a house at his own expense, for in 1656 Humphrey Leigh, who desired to build a house, obtained permission from the Government to fell and carry away for this purpose trees out of the neighbouring woods to the weight of twenty tons, together with the bark, for which he was to pay a moderate rate. In 1658 Francis Barnard, the preacher at Lismore, requested that he should be granted the ruins of an old house and small garden in that town, as the people there had expressed their readiness to re-edify the same for the use of the present minister and his successors.[1]

In 1654 John Andrews, minister at Rathkeale, was put into possession, rent free, of the small castle of Rathfeagh, with two acres of glebe-land attached, for the accommodation of himself and his family. He was still occupying the 'minister's castle' in 1660, and in the meantime had repaired it at his own expense. This building appears to have continually served as a residence for the clergyman, and is apparently to be identified with the 'glebe castle', of which a portion still remains.[2]

For the purpose of training up the youth of the country schoolmasters (and in a few instances, schoolmistresses) were appointed to teach in the various precincts, the methods adopted for testing their scholastic abilities, and political and theological sentiments, being apparently the same as those employed in the examination of ministers both before and after 1654; while they were paid out of the same source

[1] For Leigh see A/12, f. 180; Barnard, A/15, f. 54a.
[2] A/25, f. 278; A/85, f. 410; Westropp, *Castles of Limerick*, no. 315.

as the latter. When appointed to locations they received such salaries as £50, £40, £30, and £20. The exception was William Hill of Dublin, who received £100. The mistresses received only £10 and £5. Usually the ministers and schoolmasters were quite distinct, but in a couple of instances a man is found acting as both simultaneously, such as John Brookes, who was located near Waterford in that double capacity, but was subsequently employed solely as a preacher. The number of the schoolmasters was never very great. The first mention of such occurs in October 1651, when John Carr was said to be master in Dublin, though his name does not appear in subsequent lists.[1]

Occasionally it happened that an Episcopalian clergyman took office as schoolmaster. One instance of this presents interesting features. In December 1656 the inhabitants of Loughrea petitioned that Cadwallader Jenkins, who had been rector of Aughrim and other parishes before the Rebellion, should be sent to them as schoolmaster; and this request was granted. From a statement made by him in 1660 it appears that at the same time he quietly and unobtrusively took possession of his former livings, and held them without let or hindrance for the four years following. Prior to the Rebellion he had built a church and vicarage-house at his own expense upon the premises, and it is to be hoped that on his return he found both intact. He had spent the intervening period as a preacher in Bristol.[2]

It does not appear that any of the strange sects which were to be found in England obtained any footing in Ireland. The preachers belonged to one or other of four denominations, viz. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, and were all described impartially as 'Ministers of the Gospel'. This common designation did not bring with it unanimity of opinion; far from it. Not to speak of political differences, which were acute enough, the theological points were quite sufficient in themselves to cause keen disputation, and occasionally unseemly wrangling. The Presbyterians

[1] For Brookes see A/20, f. 23; A/22, f. 11 a. Carr, A/57, f. 30.
[2] A/11, f. 352; A/25, f. 332 b.

were at variance with the Independents on the ground of church government and discipline; both disliked exceedingly anything that savoured of 'prelacy'; while all three were strongly opposed to the main tenets of Anabaptism. In their objection to Quakerism and Roman Catholicism the four parties met on common ground. Unfortunately the information with respect to the Episcopalians who took office as ministers is exceedingly scanty, but it would seem that to all intents and purposes they became merged in the Independents, as being more closely allied in doctrine to that party than any other. In matters of church discipline and organization they would of course have differed widely under normal conditions, but such points had been swept away in an arbitrary manner. A few of the Episcopalians inclined towards Presbyterianism.

The period of ten years with which the major portion of this book deals certainly forms a strange interlude in the history of the Irish Church, though it is sufficiently clear that she suffered less at the hands of the Puritans than the sister-church of England. In the latter country the clergy had been violently attacked by the Presbyterian party from the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640, and numbers had been ejected in a most shameless way; the Irish Church was spared this, though indeed she had her own peculiar burden to bear during those years. In reality she was not affected to any degree by the rise of sectarianism until the arrival of the Commissioners in 1651, and in consequence spent the greater part of the decade under the more tolerant rule of the Independents. England too had been the home of the Brownists, from whom the Independents had sprung, while Anabaptism had flourished there since 1633; neither of these denominations was to be found in Ireland, at least to any appreciable extent, until the Commonwealth became all-supreme, as the ground had already been occupied by the Presbyterians in Ulster and the Episcopalians all over the country.

For various reasons it is impossible to estimate to the exact unit the total number of persons who acted in the

capacity of 'ministers of the Gospel' between the commencement of 1651 and the close of 1659. The Civil Lists prior to that for 1654 are not extant; and if these were forthcoming it is possible that some names could be recovered which are absent from the later lists through death or other reasons. The present writer has calculated that between the above dates at least 376 men were officially engaged as preachers by the Commonwealth, and received a maintenance by salaries or tithes; though a few, for one reason or another, put in little or no service in the country. Of these 67 were Presbyterians, as may be principally learnt from the lists of Drs. Reid and Latimer. But when an attempt is made to estimate the number of Episcopalians the result is less satisfactory, owing to the fact that succession-lists have been compiled for so few of the Irish dioceses. From a study of the available sources it would appear that, taking the lowest figure, 65 clergy of the Irish Church took office as ministers, and this is probably something short of the true amount. The Anabaptists were in a decided minority. There are only 11 men for whom there appears to be any evidence for connecting them with that body, and this may possibly be an over-estimate, for Dr. Harrison stated in October 1655 [Thurloe, iv. 91] that there were then only *two* Anabaptist preachers on salary. This leaves a balance of 233. Out of this number, 18 are known to be Independents. This is decidedly an under-estimate; the Independents must have been in far greater numbers, though the positive evidence is lacking for so many names. To this official list of three hundred and seventy-six a considerable body of unofficial preachers must be added, viz. (1) Episcopalians who still remained in the country, and who either would not, or could not, obtain recognition from the Government. (2) A few Presbyterians who appear to have made no attempt to get themselves put on salary. (3) A considerable number of Anabaptist preachers. (4) Army chaplains, of whom two (Lambe and Sumptner) are mentioned in the Appendix, but not included in the sum total given above. Bearing in mind that the Protestant population must have been small, it must

be admitted that, at least during the close of the Commonwealth period, the number of ministers of all denominations in Ireland was not too insufficient, while it is clear from the records that the Government was genuinely anxious to make suitable provision for the spiritual welfare of the people, and did all that lay in its power in this respect.

To apply the epithet of 'vicars of Bray' to those of the Episcopalian clergy who acted as 'ministers of the Gospel', and received salaries as such from the Government, is easy criticism. Had they taken such a step under normal conditions this would justify the epithet. But the state of affairs was unprecedented. For years past the country had been swept by fire and sword, with which the twofold agency of rebellion and usurpation had combined to overthrow all church organization, and as well to sequestrate all ecclesiastical estates and revenues. By these means the Irish Church was deprived of her *locus standi*, and was reduced to an inconsiderate minority. This being so, it is not a cause of wonder that some of the clergy, despairing of better times, and being desirous of continuing to officiate in their ministerial capacity, determined to do so under the only satisfactory conditions open to them, and took office under the Commonwealth. They had to accept nothing new in doctrinal matters, for in their Evangelicalism they approximated to the Independents, and to judge from the facts recorded about Provost Winter there must have been a good deal of give and take in questions of doctrine, not to say of ritual, between the two parties. It is true that the Episcopalians would have had to forgo the use of the Prayer-Book, the surplice, and the sign of the cross in baptism, but as these had been frowned upon by the Government it can easily be understood—and we shall prove it more than once—that the clergy could not possibly have retained the use of these in their public ministrations, whether they took office, or whether they did not. In politics, too, the sympathies of some of the clergy lay with the Parliament. But of those who remained in Ireland after 1647 all did not serve as ministers. Some may have been deterred by conscientious scruples; others sought to be placed on

salary, but were not accepted. Generally speaking, it was the Low Churchmen who joined. The members of the High Church party, who were Royalist in their sympathies, held aloof, and an occasional glimpse of them is afforded us in the documents.

Among the clergy who acted as ministers there were to be found some who were raised to the Episcopate at the Restoration, such as Essex Digby and Ambrose Jones, who became Bishops of Dromore and Kildare respectively. Edward Worth, Dean of Cork, and subsequently Bishop of Killaloe, was Presbyterian in his sympathies, at which his High Church brethren were greatly incensed, and threw himself whole-heartedly into the service of the Commonwealth. William Sheridan, who became Bishop of Kilmore in 1682, had been appointed to preach, not indeed by the Cromwellian Government, but by the Commissioners for management of affairs in Ireland in the transition period of 1660.

Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, became Scout-Master-General in the Army, and was also employed by the Government, together with Dr. John Harding, in searching for the concealed estates of Bishops and Capitular Bodies. That he laid aside his episcopal functions is only what was to be expected; he could scarcely have done otherwise. The Hierarchy had been abolished in Ireland, and it is not likely that any exception would have been made in his case. In letters and documents he signs himself with his surname, or the initials of the same; though it is very curious to note that his correct ecclesiastical title was sometimes given to him. John Cooper, in an incident already referred to, styles him 'My Lord of Clogher'; Provost Winter notes in his Register that a baptism was performed by 'Lo. Cloghr.'; while in the Registers of St. John's he is called 'Bpp. of Clocher'; and General Ireton also designates him as such. He never became a 'minister', though occasionally he acted in his ministerial capacity, for on the 8th of August 1656 he preached a thanksgiving sermon in Christ Church for the victories of Dungan's Hill and Rathmines.[1]

[1] A/5, f. 219; A/10, ff. 143, 146; A/26, f. 31. For the use of his title see *Par. Reg. Soc.*, i, p. 73; iv, p. 12; Fitzpatrick, *Bloody Bridge*, pp. 235–9,

There is some evidence to show that one of the few members of the episcopate left in Ireland contemplated taking office as a ' minister of the Gospel ', or at all events led the Government to understand that he would do so. This was Dr. John Lesley, Bishop of Raphoe. In July 1654 it was ordered that he should receive £10 for his pains in preaching and towards the bearing of his charges to the Precinct of Derry. It was evidently intended that he should be located there, and in the Civil List for 1655 the first entry under that precinct runs as follows :

Dor. John· Leseley att [*blank*] £130

but this was subsequently erased, and so can never have been acted upon. However, in October 1655 he requested the Government that some allowance should be made him for his trouble in serving the parish of Raphoe, to which it was answered that orders had been issued to his advantage in that behalf. Furthermore, by an order dated the 27th of September 1653 he was to get a pension of £100 a year ; two years later this was increased to £120, and was to be paid out of the public treasury. He was never backward in urging his claims, for a few months after this he petitioned that his annual allowance of £130 (!), which was granted to him in consideration of the money expended by him in repairing the castle of Raphoe, should be increased, and it was then made £160. It also appears that his brother Dr. Henry Lesley, Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dr. Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore, each received a Government pension of £120. These three, together with Henry Jones, were the only Bishops of the Irish Church who were then to be found in the country.[1]

Some of the statements made by Ware in his life of this Bishop seem strangely at variance with the facts recorded in the Council Books. According to that writer he was a strong Royalist, and raised and maintained at his own expense an infantry company for the King ; he was an equally strong Churchman, for he used the Prayer-Book in his family, and

[1] A/9, f. 218 ; A/19, f. 35 ; 1c. 8c. 128, f. 49. For pensions see A/7, f. 333 ; A/9, f. 253 ; A/33, f. 92 ; A/58, f. 447.

while resident in Dublin (during the Commonwealth !) held frequent confirmations and ordinations in that city. If these two statements be accurate it is strange to find him accepting a pension from the Usurpers, and that as well he was so closely connected with them that he received payment for preaching, and gave the Government some grounds for supposing that he intended becoming a 'minister of the Gospel'. Furthermore, Ware says that he 'was so great a stranger to Covetousness that he hardly understood Money'. Yet he thoroughly well understood the value of tithes and lands, and did not hesitate to ask the Commonwealth Government more than once for the tenancy of the same, or to request that monetary compensation should be given him for his trouble in building the castle of Raphoe. He continued to make a claim with respect to the last item in 1661, and was finally granted £2,000 by the Parliament.[1]

Though we may seem to have strayed from the subject as indicated by the title of this chapter yet it may be noted, as a matter of interest, that some of the 'ministers of the Gospel' are represented to-day by county families in Ireland. From Provost Winter descend the Winters of Agher, Co. Meath. Devereux Spratt was the ancestor of the Spratts of Pencil Hill near Mallow; a member of a branch of this family, Colonel Spratt-Bowring, has in his possession a small manuscript volume belonging to this godly minister, portion of which, containing his autobiography, has been published by the present writer. The Hartstonge-Welds of Carlow trace their descent from Edmund Weld, a graduate of Harvard College. Two at least were connected with the peerage. Essex Digby was brother to the first Baron Digby, while from Thomas Vesey descend the Viscounts de Vesci.

[1] Ware, pp. 189, 190; A/9, ff. 218, 253; A/14, f. 30; *Commons' Journal*, i, pp. 637, 682.

CHAPTER IV

AFFAIRS UNDER CHARLES FLEETWOOD

In Chapter II the coming of the first ministers to Dublin, and their locations there, has been dealt with. Ultimately they were to be found in almost every part of Ireland, and accordingly it is necessary to show the first steps of their gradual advance over the country, as well as to indicate the processes by which their numbers were increased.

In January 1652 Nicholas Wilson was ordered to New Ross, and in the same month Robert Clarke, an Anabaptist, one of the Commissioners of Revenue, was paid £60 for preaching the Gospel in Connaught; this appears to be the only instance recorded in the Council Books of a man occupying a civil and religious position at the same time. Between March and July other appointments were made. John Hooke was sent to Drogheda, Claudius Gilbert to Limerick, and Richard Blackburne to Athlone, while an Episcopalian, Henry Rugg, a Prebendary of Cloyne, was directed to preach to the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospital at Cork. It is probable that other appointments were made at the same period, but the records are not sufficiently full to allow them to be traced.[1]

At some date before October 1651 Carrickfergus was filled by an Independent, Timothy Taylor. He had formerly been a Presbyterian, but changed his opinions, and became joint pastor of a Congregational church in Cheshire. While in Carrickfergus he occupied the house which had been previously inhabited by the rector of the parish. He became the most prominent Independent minister in Ulster, and frequently acted as confidential adviser in matters ecclesiastical to the Government.[2]

In September 1651 a minister was needed for the garrison

[1] A/57, ff. 99, 114, 145, 193, 205, 263.
[2] A/57, f. 18; Reid, ii, p. 229.

at Tecroghan, and on his appointment was to receive a salary of 16*s.* a week. In the following January Colonel Cooke was directed to provide fit preachers for Enniscorthy (at £30), and for Wexford (at £100); in May Colonel John Hewson was to appoint one for Naas, and Colonel Sankey was to procure a minister for Dungarvan.[1]

The inadequacy of the supply of ministers at this time was only too apparent, and from this on the Government was occupied with rectifying the existing state of affairs. As early as August 1651 the Commissioners resolved that an invitation should be sent to some preachers in Essex to come over to Ireland, and a letter to this effect was written to Dr. John Owen.[2]

In 1652 Oliver Cromwell determined to send over his son-in-law Charles Fleetwood to assist in the government of Ireland, and this was judged a suitable opportunity for dispatching ministers. Accordingly in July of that year it was directed that Owen, Hugh Peters, and other ministers should meet at the Lieutenant-General's house at the Cockpit in London, and there consult with Fleetwood, Colonel Hewson, and other officers of the Army on the advisability of sending godly persons into Ireland to preach there, the State engaging to provide fitting encouragement for them therein. Not quite a month later four ministers, whose names are not given, were appointed to go to Ireland, and were each to receive £50 out of the contingent money when they should have been nominated by the Council of State. This money did not form part of the salary, but, as appears from numerous entries in the Council Books, was granted towards defraying the expenses of removal of a minister and his family from one country to the other; the usual amount was as above, but sometimes less was given.[3]

Fleetwood landed at Waterford in September, bringing with him as chaplains Edward Wale and Samuel Ladyman. The former was located at that city at £50 per annum, and was as well to get a house and a small quantity of land.

[1] A/57, ff. 12, 90, 91, 204, 210. [2] A/56, f. 14.
[3] *S. P. Dom.*, iv, pp. 351, 355.

On the voyage his library was lost, and a sum of £30 was granted him to refurnish his book-shelves. Ladyman was appointed to preach at Clonmel at £100; in 1658 he stated in a letter to Henry Cromwell that he had done good work there, but that his lack of ordination had proved a serious hindrance to him.[1]

Fleetwood was an Anabaptist, though not a fanatical upholder of that sect. Adair says that he was much given to secret prayer, and was of a meek and condescending disposition towards all whom he believed to be godly, irrespective of their religious denomination. It must have been shortly after his arrival that the Anabaptist preacher, Thomas Patient, was brought from Waterford to Dublin, and settled there, though not on State salary: he gathered a congregation, from which it was reported in the following year that 'those in profitable employment daily (though not *per saltum*, yet by degrees) do decline'. He was appointed to preach (with others in turn) at Christ Church, and was one of those who were directed to consider the question of having the Gospel effectually preached in Ireland. He was given a house in Dublin, with a piece of waste land lying near, which had been formerly used as a ball-alley, but was to be converted by him into a garden. Under his auspices the first Anabaptist meeting-house in Ireland was erected in Swift's Alley in 1653. He was the author of only one book, *The Doctrine of Baptism and the Distinction of the Covenant* (London, 1654), the introduction to which contains some autobiographical details.[2]

According to Brooke's *Puritans* (iii, p. 425) Patient had formerly been an Independent minister in New England, but left there on account of his change of principles. The same author goes on to relate that Fleetwood brought him to Dublin, and having displaced Dr. Winter appointed him to preach in Christ Church. While there he became chaplain

[1] *S. P. Dom.*, iv, p. 374; A/56, ff. 88, 106; 1c. 8c. 128, f. 197; Lansd. MSS., 823, f. 51.

[2] A/58, f. 238; A/84, f. 200; Thurloe, ii, p. 213; *History of Baptist Irish Society*, Introd., p. lx. For Fleetwood's character see Adair, pp. 207, 215, 222.

to Colonel John Jones, one of the Commissioners, who preferred him above the regular clergy, and caused him to preach before him and the Council every Lord's Day in that Cathedral. It is quite conceivable that Jones may have given him considerable encouragement, but the remainder of Brooke's statement has already been shown to be inaccurate in Chapter II. He also says that it was when Fleetwood came over to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant that he brought Patient with him. This is quite incorrect. Fleetwood only held the rank of Lord Deputy (and that not until 1654), the Lieutenancy being retained by Oliver Cromwell; while it appears from Milton's State Papers (p. 6) that Patient was stationed at Kilkenny as early as April 1650. There is no record of his ever having received State payment for his ministerial work, even under Fleetwood.

Violent opposition was shown by some to him and his co-religionists in Dublin, for in 1653 the Council was informed that 'several persons of unquiet spirits and lewd conversation have of late used many uncivil demeanours towards Mr. Patient and others who walk with him in the worship of God, railing at and cursing them, and casting stones at them, and some of the said evil persons intended to destroy them by shooting at them'.[1]

Another influential minister, Christopher Blackwood, shared with Patient the position of spiritual leader of the Anabaptists in Ireland. He appears to have been stationed in the stead of the latter at Kilkenny in January 1653, at a salary of £150, and his name appears in the Civil List for 1654, but not later.[2]

Shortly after Fleetwood's arrival the Government set itself to deal in earnest with the difficult problem of supplying the country with suitable preachers. In December 1652 it was directed that seven of the Dublin ministers, viz. Winter, Patient, Murcot, Nathaniel Partridge, Henry Wotton, Robert Chambers, and Thomas Wilkinson, should forthwith meet together and seriously consider the best course to be adopted for the effectual preaching of the Gospel in Ireland, as also

[1] A/83, f. 205.

[2] A/33, f. 33; A/58, f. 165.

to state the names of such persons as they believed to be fitly qualified to be sent out for this purpose among the Irish as well as the English ; they were to furnish the result of their deliberations to the Commissioners, but, as usual, no trace remains of their report. In the following January Adjutant-General Allen, Quartermaster-General Vernon, Major Anthony Morgan, Mr. Timothy Avery, and two City aldermen, Daniel Hutchinson and Thomas Hooke, were added to the committee (apparently the above) for advising on the most effectual course to be taken for preaching the Gospel. Of these the first two were ardent Anabaptists, while the last two were elders of Winter's church.[1]

The immediate results of their deliberations are not recorded, though it must be assumed that steps were taken as speedily as possible. Nor were their efforts to obtain preachers confined to Ireland, for on the 28th of August 1653 the Commissioners wrote letters to six ministers in England, stating that they were destitute of helpers, and as these had been favourably reported on they begged them to come over, promising them a comfortable subsistence and help towards the expense of removing. None of these came, however, and indeed from this and the following letter, not to speak of other documents, it becomes clear that it was with exceeding difficulty that men could be induced to settle themselves in Ireland. Three days later they wrote to John Owen and two others stating that they had invited several preachers over, but had found a very slow compliance on their part. Others seemed disposed to respond, but as they were strangers to them they begged Owen and the others to inform themselves of their abilities and fitness, and to certify if they found them sufficiently well qualified. Before the close of the year some ministers came over, and in process of time were followed by many others ; indeed it is obvious that as there can have been very few Independents in Ireland before 1650, and as a large proportion of the ministers belonged to that body, men from England must have supplied the deficiency.[2]

In order to assure a supply of suitable ministers the

[1] A/82, ff. 488, 523. [2] A/90, ff. 529, 530.

Commissioners went even further afield, and attempted to obtain them from America. The correspondence of the Irish Government with the New England States is not the least interesting feature of the ecclesiastical history of this period.

It appears that Oliver Cromwell wrote in 1650 to New England for the purpose of obtaining both preachers and settlers from thence for Ireland. He received a reply dated 31st of the 10th month (January 1651), signed by four ministers, Peter Bulkeley, Samuel Whiting, John Knowles, and Thomas Corbet. After some rather fulsome adulation of him and his deeds in Ireland they congratulate him on his desire to advance the Kingdom of Christ in that country, 'for which end your Honour is pleased to cast your eyes, as upon godly people and ministers in England, so upon suchlike in America also, whose hearts the Lord may move to so blessed a work'. On behalf of themselves and others in New England they humbly thank him for his offers, and promise that if the Lord give them a sufficient call and encouragement to remove into Ireland they will thankfully embrace the same. At the same time they enclosed certain conditions with respect to the enjoyment of the same freedom in religious matters as hitherto, the foundation of a free-school and college, their location in a healthy part of the country away from the native Irish, and so on. From this it would appear that Cromwell's efforts were primarily directed towards obtaining settlers for the deserted lands, but that nevertheless preachers were also earnestly desired.[1]

Of the four clerical signatories two were of sufficient importance to be deemed worthy of inclusion in Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Bulkeley was a Fellow of Cambridge, took Holy Orders in the Church of England, and succeeded his father in the living of Odell, but was ejected by Laud for non-conformity, and went to America. There were two Whitings, father and son. The former, who is evidently the one alluded to here, was also in Orders, but after two prosecutions for non-conformity went to America, and became first minister of Lynn (Mass.), serving there from

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iii, letter ccc.

1636 to his death in 1679. None of these four came to Ireland.

Again, in August 1651 a meeting of the Commissioners was held in Dublin, Colonel Jones being in the chair. John Rogers was summoned to this, and suggested that an invitation should be sent to some ministers in New England, and accordingly it was ordered that a letter to this effect should be written to the celebrated John Cotton. In the following month the Commissioners wrote to Dr. Thomas Harrison expressing their regret that he could not come over ' to give our friends in New England a taste of the condition of this country for the better encouragement of the removal hither of such of them whose hearts the Lord shall stir up to look back again towards their native land ', and promise such as should come every convenience possible. This referred entirely to planters, and in process of time several New England families and ministers, amongst the latter being Harrison, did settle in Ireland.[1]

The Commissioners made some attempt to obtain suitable ministers in Ireland, and in the course of this they lighted on a curious case of bigamy and scandal. The Commissioners of Revenue in Cork had forwarded to Dublin a list of such persons in that Precinct as they deemed fit to be appointed to preach on salary. In this was included the name of one Mr. Royle, and on noticing this the Commissioners wrote to Cork in November 1652 stating that they had heard so much in relation to his slight esteem of the scripture ordinances that they could not countenance his being employed in such a work. In the following January a Committee was appointed to investigate the charges against him, and another who was accused of heresy; but it does not appear that Royle came before them until March. It was then found that his wife Margaret had been married to one Seney, who was reported to be at that very time, or lately, alive in London, and that the said wife had recently been ' carted ' in that city for some notorious misdemeanours. The Committee was directed to examine both apart in order to see when, where, and by whom,

[1] Comrs. to Owen, A/56, f. 14 ; to Harrison, A/89, f. 120.

they had been married. Mrs. Royle declared that she had been divorced from Seney at London-Stone in 1648, and produced witnesses to that effect, but it was said that these were suborned. If Royle were guilty he succeeded in throwing dust in his judge's eyes, for in July Colonel Jones wrote in alarm from Dublin to Colonel Phair: 'It is reported here that Mr. Royle is come back to Cork in triumph, and that he receives as much countenance and favour from you as ever. If that be true, God, whom he has dishonoured by living in known sin of adultery, and undervaluing His word and ordinance, will in time sharply reprove you.' A further investigation was made, with the result that in May 1654 Royle, who was then under restraint in Cork, was ordered to embark himself at some port in Co. Cork on or before the tenth of the following June, and not to return again into the kingdom without licence. Yet he seems to have evaded this order, for about a year later Lieutenant Valentine Greatrakes (better known as the Healer, or Stroker) certified that in conference with him Royle had uttered various blasphemous expressions.[1]

A case of reputed heresy on the part of a minister was involved in the above, though the same fullness of detail is lacking. Certain allegations were made against a preacher named John Cull, who officiated at and around Carlow, and these were examined into by the same Committee as dealt with Royle's case. Evidently acting upon the report presented to them by this body the Commissioners wrote to Cull in the following March, to the effect that he had been accused of expressions tending to atheism, and that he was consequently suspended from preaching until he should clear himself. He succeeded in doing so on this particular occasion, and acted as a salaried minister for a couple of years, but was again suspended in the end of 1656, for reasons now unknown.[2]

One of the first Independent ministers to come into Ireland was an able and promising young man, John Murcot, who had

[1] A/5, f. 174; A/82, ff. 540, 687; A/84, f. 671; A/85, f. 338; A/90, ff. 336, 454; *Egmont MSS.*, i, pt. 2, p. 523.
[2] A/2, f. 482; A/22, f. 11; A/90, f. 454.

incidentally a narrow escape on his voyage thither, for as his ship was about to enter Dublin Bay it was pursued by a pirate, but managed to make the port in safety. On his arrival in Ireland Murcot received invitations both from Belfast and Dublin, but chose to settle with the latter church, as he approved of its soundness in doctrine and strictness of discipline. Here he remained for some time, and in November 1651 was appointed to preach at 'Michael's over the water' (*recté* St. Michan's), and also officiated in his turn at Christ Church. However, in April 1652 he was granted £20 to purchase a horse in order that he might accompany the Commissioners into Munster. During their visit to Cork the Independents there were greatly attracted by him, and used every endeavour to persuade him to establish himself permanently among them. Murcot seriously debated the pros and cons, and at length came to the decision of remaining in Dublin, the points that weighed most with him being his unfitness to engage in controversy, and the need in Cork of such a Magistracy as would back up the preacher's efforts with its power and authority. However, some months later one Joseph Eyres came over from England to Youghal on some business of his own, and, preaching occasionally in Cork city, was desired by the people there, as there was a great dearth of ministers, the more so as the majority of the Episcopalian clergy in that county had been silenced. This was not permitted by the local authorities, upon which a petition was sent to the Commissioners at Dublin to the effect that both Murcot and Eyres might be settled in Cork. Accordingly in July 1653 the latter was located at Christ Church in that city, which was then ordered to be put in a fit state of repair, while on the 14th of the preceding April the Commissioners directed Murcot to repair thither and exercise his gifts in the work of the ministry.[1]

Murcot remained only two months in Cork, and during his stay there he and Dr. Edward Worth (*de iure* Dean of the

[1] A/57, f. 165; A/82, ff. 68, 464; A/84, f. 58; *Murcot's Life*, pp. 13–17. In October 1652 he was ordered to go to Cork and get a house there (A/58, f. 58). This cannot have been acted on. For Eyres see A/84, f. 273.

same) had a dispute about infant baptism with an Anabaptist, Dr. Harding. Is this man to be identified with the rather notorious Dr. John Harding, who had been amongst other things Senior Fellow of T.C.D., and seditious preacher, and who was at the time in the employment of the Commonwealth? Anabaptism was rife in Cork at this period, where it encountered much opposition, and in consequence disputations must have been of frequent occurrence. The cause of this particular dispute was a sermon preached by Dr. Worth on Thursday the 7th of April 1653, in which he advocated infant baptism. On this a public disputation was desired, and held accordingly; of this no record remains, except that Worth says that Dr. Harding presented himself thereat, and desired that the procedure should be scholastical, i. e. that the arguments should be put in the form of syllogisms, but that instead of arguing accordingly 'like an old beaten soldier he kept close in his trenches, somewhile rhetorizing against logic, and mostwhile interposing impertinent questions, and thereupon orations *populo ut placeret*, neither of use in the reiglement of their consciences, nor of concernment in the point at hand'. Not satisfied with this discussion he challenged Worth to a second one; on the 4th of May the latter sent him a letter containing certain propositions with respect to the forthcoming debate, with the result that Harding, whose strong point was evidently not logic, took upon himself to censure publicly those ministers who adopted that mode of arguing in preference to the Scriptural method of disputation.

Thus when Murcot arrived in Cork he found himself at once in the thick of the battle. He preached at St. Peter's on Thursday the 19th of May, and after his sermon Dr. Harding produced a Question which he declared to the congregation then assembled he had sent to Dr. Worth for the purpose of disputation, and that it had been declined by him. According to Murcot the point brought forward by Harding was so involved that it became in effect a well-known fallacy, that of Many Questions. In reality Harding's object was to impale his adversary on the horns of a dilemma. If Worth undertook to argue the point he would find himself involved

in a hopeless state of logical confusion; if he refused, the people would think he was afraid. Worth had refused the question, but offered instead to debate upon either of two other points, both of which Harding declined. After some further discussion Murcot angrily tried to press Harding to a question, whereupon the latter challenged him, declaring that he would maintain a negative against him, i.e. that no infants were to be baptized. This dispute took place on the following Thursday, the 26th. After some two hours' skirmishing Murcot succeeded in bringing Harding to agree to the question. Finally he urged for the negative, that there was no command or warrant for infant baptism in the Gospel; to which it was answered, that there was express warrant for Baptism in the Gospel, and consequential warrant for the circumstance of time and the age of the subject. When Harding had finished speaking Murcot put forth his argument in the form of a syllogism, viz.

> There was warrant to baptize all disciples.
> Infants were disciples. *Ergo.*

But Harding went off on a side-issue, the exact meaning of the word 'disciple'. He was evidently getting the worst of the encounter when an incident occurred which gave him the desired opportunity of putting an end to the discussion. A Mr. Hacket carelessly tore a portion of the paper on which the arguments were written, thinking he had only torn off a syllogism of his own; but it appears that some of Harding's points were written on this, whereupon 'the Doctor takes occasion to break off, crying out of perfidiousness, which the Lord knows was nothing but an ignorance'. And so this particular dispute came to an abrupt conclusion.

A Sunday later (perhaps May 29) Dr. Harding was to preach at St. Peter's. He commenced his sermon, but being 'full at stomach' laid it aside, called for ink and paper, and wrote down thirteen arguments for infant baptism, which are given at length in Murcot's life, against which it is to be presumed that he intended to maintain the negative, and with them 'entertained the congregation he had, to the wearying of

some of them', and then sent the paper to Murcot, though with no intimation as to what was to be done with it. This reached him about half an hour before he was to preach in the afternoon; he resolved not to deal with it, but contented himself with informing the congregation that he had received such a paper, and cautioning them what doctrine they embraced, after which he commenced his sermon.

So the matter ended as far as Murcot was concerned, though he regretted having had to take part in it. Dr. Worth preached a second sermon on Thursday the 2nd of June, in which he 'improved the arguments' of the former one, and then published the substance of the two in a very rare little quarto volume of 148 pages, entitled *Scripture Evidences for Baptizing the Children of Covenanters*, which was probably printed at Cork. The press from which it issued possessed no Greek or Hebrew type, as the quotations in those languages are filled in by hand with pen and ink. The copy used by the present writer was evidently a presentation one, for across the title-page was written *Ex Dono Eruditissimi Authoris*.[1]

Murcot must have left Cork about the middle of June, and on his return to Dublin was unanimously appointed Teacher of that Church, a call that he accepted with the greatest reluctance. In this position he had abundant opportunities for spiritual work, and laboured with great earnestness and effect. In the quaint language of his biographer 'the Lord having fixed him in the Firmament of the Church he proved not a wandering star; his regular motions kept others within their compass. He was not a cloud without water, as appeared by the flourishing growth of many Christians, who sat under the honey drops that distilled from his lips. His bowels were rowled within him, and did exceedingly melt and yearn towards those for whom Christ shed His blood.' Some extracts from his private diary have been preserved which show the inward thoughts of a man who was a little morbid, as one would gather from his portrait, curiously introspective,

[1] *Printed for T. Taylor, Widow, and are to be sold at her shop in Cork.* The foregoing is based on Worth's book, especially pp. 3, 73, and *Murcot's Life*, pp. 18–21.

and who clearly saw God's loving Hand in all the events of life, though there are few people who would dare to write down one day of their lives as wholly good without any mixture of evil. In some respects this document is parallel to the autobiography of another minister, Devereux Spratt.[1]

In April 1654 he petitioned the Corporation of Dublin for a sixty-one years' lease of some waste ground in Nicholas Street, which was granted to him at a pepper-corn a year, but he did not live long to enjoy it. In the following July he had occasion to visit England on some family affairs, and on his departure the Commissioners gave him a special letter of recommendation to Oliver Cromwell, requesting the latter to afford him every opportunity of dispatching his business as speedily as possible, and so to save him a long and expensive delay in London. He appears to have contracted some illness as a result of this voyage, and this, acting on a body enfeebled by over-work, carried him off after a short sickness on the 3rd of December, in the thirtieth year of his age. The remains were attended to the grave by the Lord Deputy and Council, the Mayor and Aldermen, and a large concourse of citizens; and the funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Winter on Hebrews xiii. 7.[2]

Murcot had married Hester Marsden, daughter of a well-known Independent minister in England, and sister to Gamaliel who was a Fellow of Trinity College, and to Jeremiah who acted for a while as minister at Carlow. In the February following her husband's death she petitioned that she might have the house which she then occupied on a seven years' lease at the same rent as formerly; but about two months later it was directed that she should be admitted tenant to such portion of the Excise House and garden as could conveniently be spared, though it seems likely that this was never perfected. The Lord Deputy and Council had made suitable provision for her and her children by ordering her an annual grant of £100 during the Protector's pleasure; but in 1656 this cash payment was commuted for a grant of so much

[1] *Murcot's Life*, pp. 22, 25, 31–8.
[2] Gilbert, iv, p. 61; A/90, f. 732; *Murcot's Life*, pp. 39, 44–5.

land (on a ninety-nine years' lease) as would amount to that sum at the letting value of land in 1640, and she received accordingly the town and lands of Kilmackeoge, Co. Dublin (containing 703 profitable acres, and 105 unprofitable and mountain), at an annual rent of £25. This was sanctioned by Cromwell in a letter of the 12th of June. There is no other instance of such liberal treatment being shown to a minister's widow; Murcot was certainly a favourite in Dublin, but the silence may possibly be due, not to want of charity on the part of the Government—indeed it showed itself sufficiently charitable towards the destitute on more than one occasion—but to the fact that the death-rate among the preachers was very low indeed.[1]

It now becomes necessary to revert to the history of Presbyterianism in Ulster. The ministers of that Church had consistently supported the idea of a Monarchy coupled with the Covenant, and in accordance with this they prayed in their assemblies for Charles II, a proceeding which drew down upon them insults and threats from the Army. Colonel Venables, the governor of Carrickfergus, took no extreme step against them for a while, as the Royalist forces were not quite subdued. However, in 1650, urged on as it would appear by the Anabaptists and Independents, he issued a peremptory summons to the Presbytery assembled at Bangor to appear before him at Dromore, on the grounds that he had been informed of their opposition to the present government, and that if they would engage to live peaceably, and not preach against it, he would give them encouragement. After consultation the ministers decided that they would disregard his summons, unless a safe-conduct were given them, the more so as one of their number, John Drisdaile, had been apprehended by a troop of dragoons. However, instead of a safe-conduct, soldiers were sent on the night of the 11th of June to bring in the ministers under arrest, those of Co. Antrim to Carrickfergus, and those resident in Down to Belfast. Many escaped to Scotland, while others hid in

[1] A/4, f. 426; A/5, ff. 125, 167; for the land see A/11, ff. 162, 307; A/28, f. 87; A/30, f. 45.

the woods. On learning of this Venables wrote to two of them, Ferguson and Kennedy, who had been permitted to remain in their own houses under restraint, promising that if the ministers would engage not to promulgate any sedition they might return to their several places of abode, and there officiate freely; but that if they could not enter into this agreement they should promise to depart for Scotland within ten days, and should have full liberty to do so. Those who were imprisoned at Carrickfergus were brought before him at Belfast. Here he and they had a lengthy dispute; the upshot of the matter was, that as they refused to yield one jot to his demands, they were told that they must be gone, and that they need expect no favours from the Government. No further step appears to have been taken immediately against them, but the coronation of Charles II at Scone in January 1651, after solemnly swearing to keep the Covenant, aroused a good deal of enmity against the ministers, and caused them to be subjected to rigorous treatment, which culminated in a formal act of banishment being passed against them in March at a council of war held at Carrickfergus; the order for this was signed by Sir Charles Coote, and Colonels Venables, Barrow, and Chidley Coote.[1]

As a result of this many of the ministers left Ireland. Others remained behind, and ministered to their people under great difficulties and privations. 'Changing their apparel to the habit of countrymen they frequently travelled in their own parishes, and sometimes in other places, taking what opportunities they could to preach in the fields, or in barns and glens, and were seldom in their own houses.' In the summer of 1651 fresh search was made for them. Some escaped, but others were taken, and imprisoned for a while at Carrickfergus, where Venables endeavoured to persuade them to agree to his terms, but failing in this he sent them to Scotland, where they were invited to parishes, and so had the opportunity of exercising their ministerial functions. As a result of this further thinning-out there were only some six Presbyterian ministers left at liberty in the counties of

[1] Adair, pp. 177–80; Defence of four ministers, quoted in Reid, ii, p. 237.

Down and Antrim, and as these were eagerly sought after by the Government it became almost impossible for them to minister to their people. Their laudable efforts in this respect are related by Patrick Adair, who was one of the six, and therefore a first-hand authority on the events which he records. Nor was the Government able to fill to any appreciable degree the vacancies thus created. By October 1651 Lisburn and Carrickfergus had been occupied by Andrew Wyke and Timothy Taylor respectively, as has been already related; while John Bywater had been sent into the Province on a roving commission which only lasted a few months. These appear to have been the only ministers sent north by official orders up to the end of 1651, and even later. The Council Books contain very meagre records for this period, but that there were some unofficial preachers in Ulster at this date may be inferred from the conference at Antrim, hereafter related. Work must also have been done by the military chaplains in the province; one of these, Thomas Lambe, had been chaplain to Colonel Hunkes's regiment, and in this capacity had been at much pains in preaching in Ulster. At the time of making this statement (about June 1652) he was destitute, and accordingly received a grant of £40.[1]

The scarcity of ministers in Ulster was admitted by the Government, but the steps taken to remedy this state of affairs were not very satisfactory. In October 1651 directions were given to Venables, Barrow, and Taylor ' to countenance and encourage frequent Christian meetings, both publicly and privately, to confer with each other about gospel-duties, and declare unto one another their experiences of the Lord's love and gracious dealings unto them, to exercise their gifts in prayer and exhortations for the refreshing and edifying one another in love and in the knowledge of the Lord, avoiding vain and unnecessary questions and disputations which administer strife '. Presumably this work was to be carried out not merely between these three, but among the soldiers, and such of the inhabitants as would come to hear them.[2]

[1] Adair, pp. 181–3; for Lambe see A/57, f. 227. [2] A/89, f. 144.

It is pleasant to be able to record an act of charity performed by the Government at this period. In December 1651 the Commissioners wrote to the Commissioners of Revenue at Belfast as follows: 'As for the nameless superannuated Scotch minister you wrote of, who had £20 allowed him in the last year. If the man be godly, and you apprehend him a fit object of charity, you may allow him this year what you think fit out of the moiety of tithes, not exceeding £20.' [1]

At this time the Presbyterian ministers were drawn into a dispute with the Independents and Anabaptists, which turned out not too unfavourably for themselves. It has already been related that two of their brethren, Ker and O'Quin, had been put out by the Presbytery owing to their attitude with respect to the *Necessary Representation*. On account of this these two men received encouragement from the Government, though at the time of which we are writing, viz. November–December 1651, O'Quin was under censure for having given vent to embittered expressions which were calculated to damage the English interest in Ulster. These two had associated themselves with other preachers in the province, amongst whom were Taylor, Wyke, and Thomas Vesey, as well as some 'old curates' (Episcopalians who were inclined to Presbyterianism!). But when the two reflected on the troubles their brethren had recently passed through, they suggested to Taylor that a friendly conference should be held between them and the Presbyterians in order that both sides might come to some understanding on the questions then controverted. On learning of this suggestion Colonel Venables and the other Commissioners of Revenue promised a safe conduct to the ministers if they decided to come. Accordingly Ker and O'Quin wrote a letter to this effect, and sent it by the hand of the latter to Anthony Kennedy of Templepatrick, with whom he was to confer with respect to the time and place of meeting. O'Quin was unable to find Kennedy's abode (probably it was purposely concealed from him), but finally succeeded in having the letter conveyed to its destination. The ministers refused to take any notice

[1] A/89, f. 271.

of this, but wrote in reply that they were willing to confer with Taylor and Wyke, and named place and date, at Antrim in March 1652.

These latter, together with Ker and O'Quin, and all those professing Independency or Anabaptism whom they could gather together, assembled at Antrim. The seven Presbyterian ministers came into that town on a Thursday morning, and finding there was preaching in the church, went in among the congregation. Wyke was the preacher, and as he saw the seven coming in he reflected indirectly upon them in his sermon as troublers of the country, and dividers of God's people. Before ending the service Wyke gave notice to all present that they should attend in the hall of the castle after dinner to hear a public dispute between the two parties.

On coming out of the church the ministers met Taylor and Wyke at the door, and saluted them, but refused to greet the two who had fallen from the Presbytery. This was unfriendly, as Ker and O'Quin had suggested the conference in the hope of putting an end to the points in dispute, and of thus promoting brotherly love and harmony, while the intention of Taylor and his companion was to deal a blow at Presbyterianism. Instead of going to dinner the seven went to a private house, where they discussed the matter with some friends, and finally came to the conclusion that they would not dispute. In the meanwhile a concourse of people had assembled, eager to hear the debate, and word of this was sent to the ministers, who returned an answer that they would not dispute in public, but that they were willing to have a private discussion with Taylor and Wyke. Their reason for refusal was that they had understood that the affair was to be conducted privately, and so they were vexed at being forced into a public debate. Eventually they were persuaded to go down to the castle, and in a room there were visited by the two brethren, who begged and prayed them to dispute—indeed O'Quin offered to take up the cudgels himself if they would permit it.

In the meantime the audience had gathered in the common hall, where were set a long table and forms, with a chair

at one end. Taylor and Wyke entered, and finding no antagonists, sat them down and looked pleasantly on one another, as men who were assured of victory ere the battle commenced : they said to the bystanders, ' It seems these gentlemen will not come to dispute and defend their cause.' At this one of their friends hastened to the ministers, and besought them for the credit of Presbyterianism to come and answer these men, for they were triumphing. Hearing this the ministers hurried to the hall, and Patrick Adair, whom the seven had appointed their spokesman, sat down rather petulantly in the vacant chair, and thus took charge of the proceedings. On Wyke's suggestion he opened the debate with prayer, and then sat down again, waiting to see what was the next step to be taken.

Taylor then rose, and delivered a cunningly woven discourse, of about an hour in length, with the object of commending Independency, and of disparaging Presbyterianism. When he had finished Adair stood up, and after declaring that he and his brethren had come there for a private dispute which, without their consent, had been turned into a public one, proceeded to argue for the Presbyterian form of church government. After his speech some little discussion followed, in which Wyke attempted to make use of (for him) an unaccustomed weapon, and attacked Adair with a syllogism, which was easily answered ; to this he made no reply, as syllogistic reasoning had not formed part of his education. On this Taylor, who had been conversing in an undertone with a minister, turned to him, and said rather unkindly in an ordinary voice, ' What is become of your argument, brother ? ' ; at which Wyke looked sulky, but gave no answer. Immediately after Taylor returned thanks in prayer that the debate had been conducted with such moderation, and so the matter came to an end. To the modern reader it would seem as if neither side had won, but it appears that both in the opinion of their friends and their enemies the Presbyterians had by far the best of the encounter.

The ministers returned home to their congregations under cover of the safe-conduct, and for some months enjoyed much

more freedom than heretofore. News of this came to Scotland, on which Archibald Ferguson, minister of Antrim, returned to Ireland on Lady Clotworthy's intercession for him with Venables, and it appears that others must have followed his example.[1]

But the storm-clouds soon began to gather afresh. The ministers were being watched with jealous eye, and in August and September 1652 some correspondence relative to them was passing between the Government and the Commissioners of Revenue in Ulster. It appears that the latter had forwarded a report containing the names of the ministers, and the extent of their disaffection, for in August they were directed to send up in safe custody to Dublin any who were suspected of carrying on the 'Scotch interest', or of endeavouring to influence the people against the Commonwealth. In the following month they were ordered to prevent, as far as they could, the meetings of the disaffected gentry, who were assembling together under pretence of going hunting.[2]

To what extent the ministers were actually guilty of encouraging opposition to the Government is a point on which we know nothing; but a convenient weapon was found against them in the Engagement. This had been passed by the Rump Parliament, and bound its subscribers to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England as established without King or House of Lords. This was pressed on all in Ireland bearing office under the State. Whether any Episcopalian clergy took it we cannot say: Killen in his edition of Adair (p. 193) says that many did, but gives no evidence in support of his statement. Some of their brethren in England subscribed, despairing of the return of the King, and feeling that they were bound to give allegiance to a *de facto* Government. It is clear, however, that if any of the Irish clergy followed their example it must have been only those who were holding office as State-paid 'ministers of the Gospel', and the number of such at this period was very small indeed. Furthermore, these would be sympathizers

[1] Adair, pp. 183, 191; Latimer, p. 114.
[2] A/90, ff. 233, 267, 327.

with the Parliament, and so could consistently take such a pledge.

To the Presbyterian ministers it was abhorrent, and in consequence was refused by them. It would appear that as early as February 1650 the Engagement had been pressed in Ulster, and that several of the ministers had been imprisoned for refusing it. It would then seem to have been dropped, but in August 1652, no doubt as a consequence of some information given by the northern Commissioners, the Government included in their correspondence to them an order to the effect that no minister of the Gospel in Ulster should be permitted to enjoy any benefit of titles or maintenance from the State, unless he first took the Engagement.[1]

Accordingly the Commissioners of Revenue wrote letters dated the 16th of October to all the Presbyterian ministers, and desired them to come to a conference at Belfast on the 21st, ostensibly for the purpose of consulting together how the Gospel might be preached without disturbing the peace of the Commonwealth, but it was very obvious that the real object was to sound them on the matter of the Engagement. On receipt of these the brethren seriously debated the matter among themselves, and finally drew up a paper to the effect that although they could not own the Government as lawful, nor bind themselves by any oath to it, yet as their calling was to preach the Gospel they had no intention of causing insurrection.

They appeared before the Commissioners at the place and date appointed, and after some discussion handed in the paper they had drawn up. This was immediately before dinner ; they again met after dinner, and then debated on the question as to whether they would take the Engagement, or at least the negative part of it, viz. that they would act nothing against the Commonwealth as now established. They discussed the subject for several hours, but as neither side would give way the upshot of the matter was that the Commissioners adjourned the conference for six weeks. At the same time they delivered to them for their consideration

[1] *Milton's S. P.*, p. 4 ; A/82, f. 305.

a draft which differed verbally from the Engagement, but in substance was almost identical with it.

On the following Monday the ministers met in a barn, and agreed to send over Andrew Stewart to Scotland to inform the Presbyterians there of the steps which had been taken, and to seek their advice for the future. About this time too the recalcitrant members Ker, O'Quin, and Vesey were received back into communion, with the consent of the major portion of the Presbytery, which was then in Scotland. Stewart's return was delayed by contrary winds, and so before they could have the benefit of their overseas brethren's advice the six weeks had expired. At the second meeting with the Commissioners (which must have taken place about the 2nd of December) a deadlock occurred again, and as both parties were heartily weary of each other the Commissioners suggested to them that they should send one or two of their number to Dublin to see if they could come to any agreement with Fleetwood and the Council. Though they did not anticipate any good results, yet they agreed to this, and chose as their representatives Archibald Ferguson and Patrick Adair, to whom they gave full instructions to declare that they had no thought of insurrection, but only desired to preach the Gospel to their flocks.

Furnished with a letter and pass from Venables the two set off for Dublin, and on their arrival there received much civility from Fleetwood and several of the officers, especially Colonels Sankey and Henson, while others looked askance at them. On being interrogated as to their reason for not taking the Engagement, they replied according to their instructions. Against this it was argued that ministers had no right to expect protection from a Government to which they would not promise to be faithful. Ferguson answered that it might be dangerous to permit men who refused through worldly or political reasons, but that in their special case the refusal was grounded on conscientious motives, and that at any rate they were too insignificant in numbers and influence to create any disturbance in the country. To this Adjutant-General Allen retorted : ' Papists could and might say as much for

themselves, and pretend conscience as well as they.' Adair's reply fell like a thunderbolt : 'Sir, under favour, it's a mistake to compare our consciences with those of Papists, for Papists' consciences could digest to kill Protestant kings, but so would not ours, to which our principles are contrary.' This touched upon a very sore point, as there were several present who had been concerned in the execution of the King ; as might be expected, the proceedings terminated abruptly, and after a day or two Fleetwood dismissed the deputation, who consequently returned without having gained any advantage for their party.[1]

Some weeks later Bishop Henry Jones, Colonel Hill, Colonel Venables, and Major Morgan were sent as Commissioners from Dublin with authority to offer the Engagement to the whole of Ulster. The first step taken by these was to send soldiers to each minister's house to seize incriminating documents. They found nothing except in Adair's house, where they seized every scrap of paper without distinction, as none of those who were dispatched on this errand could read or write ; this was extremely fortunate, for amongst them were some writings which reflected severely on the Parliament. All of these were put into bags, one of which was stolen that night by a servant-girl, who took it while the soldiers were asleep in a house near Adair's, and this, by a lucky chance, was the one which contained the papers alluded to. Subsequently the Commissioners summoned the people of Down and Antrim to appear at Carrickfergus on April 2, though Adair seems to put this later. They then tendered them the Engagement, which, as they stated in their letters to Dublin, the majority signed, though not on conscientious grounds, while others signed a negative paper, and others again refused both. Adair says that both ministers and people refused to sign at all. Fully recognizing the influence that the ministers had upon their flocks, the Commissioners put some restraint on them in the hopes that they would succeed in compelling them to sign, and that in consequence their people would follow their example. It was even rumoured that a frigate was

[1] Adair, pp. 191–6.

ready to transport them into England in the event of their remaining obdurate. Finally, the Commissioners called the ministers before them, and they appeared, fearing the worst; but to their surprise they were well received, and permitted to depart home, with the admonition that they should not preach against the Commonwealth. Though ignorant of the turn in the affairs of state which had given them their freedom they went in joyful haste to their parishes, and kept the next day (Sunday) as a day of thanksgiving with their congregations.[1]

[1] Adair, p. 196 ff.; MS. T. C. D., F. 3, 18, f. 636.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUMP TO FLEETWOOD'S RECALL

For some time the relations between Oliver Cromwell and the Army on the one hand, and the Rump Parliament on the other, were becoming more strained, the main point at issue being whether a republic or a mixed monarchical government was the best. At length matters reached a crisis. The House, led by Sir Harry Vane, was endeavouring to pass a Bill for a new representation, which was in reality a scheme to perpetuate itself by enacting that the existing members should sit without re-election, and should at the same time have the power of adding to their numbers by the admission of such persons as they might approve of. On the 19th of April 1653 Cromwell held a conference at his house: this was continued the following day, and during its sitting news was brought to him that the House was hurriedly passing the Bill, and that not a moment was to be lost if he intended to do anything. He hastened to the House with a company of musketeers, whom he stationed outside. He entered quietly and took his seat, and just as the Speaker was putting the question he rose and addressed the members. After speaking for some time he gave the signal, the musketeers entered the House, the members were forcibly ejected by his orders, and the door locked. In the afternoon of that memorable day he went down to the Council of State, and treated its members in a similar manner.

Thus the power passed at one stroke into Cromwell's hands. Immediately after he formed a Council of thirteen, and some weeks later issued summonses for a new Parliament, consisting of one hundred and twenty members, which assembled on the 4th of July, and sat for five months, when it resigned its power to Cromwell. This was the 'Little'

or 'Barebone's' Parliament, which passed an Act relative to the solemnization of marriages, which has left some interesting traces in Irish parish registers.

The news of the forcible dissolution of the Rump reached Carrickfergus on a Saturday afternoon in the middle of May, the very day on which the Commissioners had summoned the Presbyterian ministers before them to hear their sentence. As this sudden change of government left them without any certain foundation for their power they had no option but to dismiss the ministers peaceably, which they accordingly did.[1]

However, the Commissioners contrived a much more stringent method of settling the country and of getting rid of the Presbyterians. On the 23rd of May they issued from Carrickfergus a Declaration for settling and securing the Province of Ulster, which was to the effect that two hundred and sixty leading Presbyterians in the counties of Down and Antrim who were believed to be disaffected should be transplanted into Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Waterford. In order to ensure the removal of the ministers as well it was included in the conditions laid down that such persons as should be transplanted might enjoy the freedom of their religion and choose their own ministers, provided that the latter were amenable to the Government, and not scandalous, and that such should be allowed a competence for their subsistence. Immediately after the publication of this proclamation certain prominent Presbyterian gentlemen were dispatched to Munster to view the allotted lands, and other preliminary steps were taken, but owing to the rapid movement of events in England the whole project 'evanished' in a short while. Two and a half years later Sir Bryce Cochrane stated in a petition that some 'precious men of the ministry' were ready to transplant to the south, as they believed it to be to the advantage of the Gospel, whereupon he offered himself and his brother, with some fifty or sixty Ulster families, to be first in the work. Some of the Presbyterian ministers seem to have been not unfavourable to this, but nothing came of it.[2]

[1] Adair, p. 201.

[2] Reid, ii, p. 172, and Appendix XIII. Cochrane's petition is in *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, p. 662.

Barebone's Parliament proved a failure. The majority of its members were religious fanatics, who were prepared to settle every question of the day with the help of the Bible and their own particular method of interpreting the same. Cromwell soon saw that this assembly was going straight to confusion, and that its efforts at reformation would only end in anarchy, so by a manœuvre the majority was induced to resign its powers into the hands of him who had given them, and so it was peaceably dissolved. But Cromwell had no intention of retaining this power alone. Within a few days it was made known that the council of officers had offered him the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, and that he had accepted it; the Government was to be vested in him, a Council, and a triennial Parliament. On the 16th of December 1653 he was installed as Protector in London.

When the news of this reached Ireland it was received with great indignation by the Anabaptist party, who, as republican, regarded it as nothing more or less than a restoration of the monarchy in the person of Cromwell. He was proclaimed Protector on January 30, and it was with the greatest difficulty that this was done owing to the opposition displayed by the Irish Government. It was said that if Cromwell wished to be proclaimed he must bring an army of his own to do it. The Mayor of Dublin requested permission from the Commissioners to make the proclamation, but they refused it on the somewhat flimsy excuse that no directions for doing so had come from England. Fearing a mutiny in the city he eventually took the matter into his own hands, and did so without permission; the herald-at-arms was accompanied by the sheriff and aldermen with all due formality, while the only prominent Anabaptist present was Colonel Sankey, 'who, I am persuaded,' says Jenkin Lloyd, 'brought his heart along to the solemnization'.

On being made acquainted with this, Cromwell took the prudent step of sending his son Henry over to Ireland to investigate into the matter and report accordingly. Henry sailed on the 3rd of March in the *Fox* from Holyhead, and landed the next day about 12 o'clock at Bullock near Dublin.

He was well received, and was conducted with almost royal pomp into the city. He visited Trinity College on March 12, where he was entertained with copies of verses, speeches, and disputations. Whilst in Ireland he and Jenkin Lloyd conversed with men of different professions and interests in order to ascertain the true state of affairs, and have left their impressions recorded in letters to Secretary Thurloe. It was in the Army, which was the stronghold of Anabaptism, that disaffection appeared most, though there was also to be found in it a party which testified their delight at the turn public affairs had taken. Had it been desired serious trouble might have arisen, owing to the fact that two of the Commissioners, Jones and Ludlow, were highly dissatisfied with the change of government. The former was sufficiently cunning to keep a guard over his words and actions, but Ludlow vented his ' venomous discontent ' on every possible occasion both in public and private. For this outspoken attitude the Anabaptists took him into their confidence, and showed signs of adopting him as their leader. When such an example was set by the commanding officers it is not a matter of surprise that the rank and file were also infected with the same ideas. Nevertheless this had not spread so far as had been imagined, for Henry Cromwell was able to write on the 8th of March that, after the strictest inquiry, he had found that the greater portion of the Army was abundantly satisfied with the change. The citizens in Dublin were pleased at Oliver's assumption of power, hoping that their Corporation, which was threatened by the Commissioners and Anabaptists, would now be secure. People in general throughout the country shared their feelings, as they anticipated that religion, ministry, laws, and men's property would be protected, and that they would be freed from the Anabaptist domination which had pressed hardly on all except those who belonged to that particular way of thinking.

The Anabaptists in general had objected to the Protectorate on the alleged grounds that titles such as ' Highness ' and ' Protector ' should be attributed to none but God, as well as on account of absurd rumours that had drifted over of

Oliver's sitting at table alone, and being served on bended knee. 'But what I find at the bottom is', writes Lloyd, 'that the late Parliament (Barebone's) did countenance their way more than any other, and that his Highness was privy, if not instrumental, to their breaking-up at a time when they were passing a glorious reforming act for taking away tithes and the maintenance of the rotten clergy.' It was said that Barebone's Parliament had been within two of voting the confiscation of the revenues of all the livings in England. Though the Anabaptists in Ireland were in disagreement with the supreme authority resting in the hands of one man, which was opposed to their republican tendencies, there was much more of dissatisfaction than of disaffection among them, while amongst the causes that helped to allay this was a communication from three prominent Anabaptists in England, William Kiffin, John Spilsbury, and Joseph Fansom, in the previous February, advising their brethren to acquiesce in the change; this advice seems to have been generally followed.[1]

Henry Cromwell's stay in Ireland on this occasion did not exceed a month, as he had certainly left by the 8th of April. During this short period he accomplished much by his prudence and common sense. On his arrival he found that there was some discontent, though this did not exist to such an extent as had been reported; by the time of his departure this had been considerably reduced, and all parties had become more reconciled to Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorship.

Something may here be said with respect to Anabaptism in Ireland at this period. It does not appear possible to fix with certainty the date of the first appearance of this sect in the country. Bramhall, writing to Laud in 1638, says that even then he had 'anabaptistical prophetesses come gadding up and down' his diocese of Derry, but this may have been merely his way of speaking. In 1642 some heterodox opinions were being spread in Co. Antrim by Cornwall and Vernet, who are said to have been Baptist preachers, against whom

[1] For Henry Cromwell's visit see letters in *Thurloe*, ii, pp. 149, 162, 213. Kiffin's letter is in *Confessions of Faith* (Hanserd Knollys Soc.), p. 322.

the Presbyterian ministers were directed to warn their people; however, the peculiar views of these two men were not received by many.[1]

When Cromwell landed in Ireland in 1649 he must have brought many Baptists in his army, and it is probable that it was then that Thomas Patient came over. The latter was at Kilkenny in April 1650. When that town was visited by Provost Winter early in the following year he found many Anabaptists there, so that this must have been one of the earliest churches formed. As the Commissioners were supporters of that denomination, it flourished and increased in Ireland under their patronage, as well as under that of Fleetwood.[2]

A close intimacy existed between the Anabaptists in Ireland and those in England, and the former were several times visited by prominent pastors from the latter. The connexion was further maintained by means of letters, and from one of these it will not be out of place to extract a list of the Anabaptist churches in Ireland as they were to be found in the year 1653.

'DUBLIN. With whom are the brethren *Patient*, Law, Vernon, Roberts, Smith, and several others who walk comfortably together through grace.

WATERFORD. With whom are the brethren Wade, Row, Boulton, Cawdron, Longdon, with several others; most of them being resident there, we trust are in a thriving condition in their spiritual state.

CLONMEL. With whom are the brethren Charles and Draper, and sometimes Hutchinson and Bullock to assist them. Some other brethren are scattered in several places in those parts who are recommended to the care of our friends at Clonme who are nearest them.

KILKENNY. They have the brethren *Blackwood*, Caxe, Axtell, Gough, with several others, who we hope are in a growing condition, and walk orderly.

CORK. With whom are the brethren Lamb, *Coleman*, and several others, who walk orderly together, though in a place of much opposition by such as slight the ways of the Lord. With whom are in communion some friends at Brand Kingsale [Bandon and Kinsale !] and other parts of the country.

[1] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), ii, p. 182; Adair, p. 98.
[2] *Milton's S. P.*, p. 6; *Winter's Life*, p. 43.

LIMERICK. With whom are the brethren *Knight*, Uzell, Skinner, and some others, whom we fear are in a decaying condition, for want of able brethren to strengthen them; brother Knight having been weak, so not able to be much with them.

GALWAY. Have the brethren *Clarke*, Davis, etc., who we understand do walk orderly, but have few able among them to edify the body.

WEXFORD. And a people lately gathered by brother Blackwood, with whom are the brethren Tomlins, Hussey, Neale, Biggs, etc., who have not much help among themselves, but are sometimes visited by Waterford friends.

In the north, near CARRIGFERGUS, are several lately received by brother *Reade*, who were baptised here by brother Patient, who, we understand, are valuable, but want some able brethren to establish them.

KERRY. Where are some friends received lately by brother *Dix*, Velson, and Browne; and brother Chawbers speaks to them. Of these we have not much experience; but have lately heard from brother Chawbers that they walk orderly. We know not of any particular friends scattered abroad in the country, but who are committed to the place of some friends near them, who we hope, as they are able, will discharge their duty towards them.' [1]

In the letter itself they regret the long intermission of letter-writing, and add that 'the Lord having put it into the hearts of all His congregations in Ireland to have a more revived correspondence with each other by letters and loving epistles, we earnestly request the same brotherly correspondence with you and from you; and by your means with all the rest of the churches of Christ in England, Scotland, and Wales, which we hope may be mutually obtained once in three months'. Another letter was sent just three years later from the church in Dublin to that in Glamorganshire, and from the signatures to these may be obtained the names of most of the prominent Anabaptists in Ireland.[2]

In the first quarter of 1654 an important step was taken in England for the purpose of setting up one fixed rule or

[1] Ivimey, *History of English Baptists*, i, pp. 240–1. Those whose names are printed in italics appear to have been salaried ministers (except Patient).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 253.

standard for the appointment of ministers to cure of souls, instead of the various methods in vogue up to that date; and the scheme then adopted was put in force in Ireland, where it was needed, as may be seen from the earlier sections of Chapter III. This change was brought about by an Ordinance of Council bearing date March the 20th, the preamble to which set forth that every minister who should, after the 25th of March 1654, be appointed to any benefice, cure of souls, or public settled lecture, should, prior to his admission thereto, be examined as to his manner of life and ability to preach the Gospel by certain persons after named. Then follow thirty-eight names, comprising nine laymen and twenty-nine divines. These were the celebrated Triers.[1]

It would seem that the mode of procedure in England was not copied to the letter in Ireland. No formal list of Irish 'Triers' is extant, and if such were ever drawn up it may have been contained in some of the lost Council Books. Instead we find invariably that certain divines were directed to examine the capacities of the candidates; the men usually designated for this work were Winter, Patient, Chambers, Wotton, Partridge, S. Mather, Charnock, Gilbert, &c., generally speaking, ministers who lived in or near Dublin, and who could in consequence be summoned as occasion arose. Certain of these, who would be specified by name, or any two or three of them, would be chosen by the Commissioners or the Lord Deputy and Council to examine an intending preacher, and then forward a report of the proceedings to the authorities, who would act upon it. An illustrative extract from the References on Petitions will make the procedure plain. In July 1654 Winter, Patient, Wotton, and Partridge, or any two of them, were directed to confer with the petitioner (Marmaduke Clapham), and to inform themselves of his abilities for the work of the ministry, as also concerning his life and conversation, and then to report what they find to the Commissioners.[2]

In England, as has been already noted, nine laymen were included among the Triers. Generally speaking, this was not

[1] Neal, iv, p. 102.

[2] Illustration from A/3, f. 62.

adopted in Ireland. In the first quarter of 1655 Sir Hardress Waller and others were associated at least twice with the ministers in the examination of a candidate's qualities. No doubt there were other instances, but the inclusion of laymen appears to have been exceptional, and in the vast majority of cases the proceedings were carried out by ministers alone, while at the head of almost every list of men appointed to try candidates stands the name of Samuel Winter, who would thus appear to have acted in the capacity of informal chairman or president. At first, indeed, the body of ministers associated for this purpose was not given any particular designation, the phraseology employed being to the effect that certain divines expressly mentioned by name should examine qualifications, and so on; but under Henry Cromwell's Government allusions are frequently found (from April 1656) to the Committee for the Approbation, or Trial, of ministers. It is evident that some change took place at this date, the nature of which is not easy to determine; but it may be that affairs were put on a more strictly business-like footing.[1]

Much has been written against the Triers in England and their methods, and apparently not without good cause, though the evils cannot have been prevalent to anything like the same extent in Ireland. By the Ordinance of Council any five Triers might accept a minister, but not less than nine could reject: it was, therefore, arithmetically possible that the choice of accepting or rejecting a minister could lie wholly in the hands of laymen, though it is improbable that this ever took place. In Ireland the laymen did not occupy such a prominent position. It may also be noted that in that country no minimum number was fixed for accepting or rejecting; the two or three or four ministers appointed to scrutinize a candidate did nothing more than present their report to the Government, and according as it was satisfactory or otherwise, so the latter acted. It was also said that the English Triers exercised their power in a most arbitrary and

[1] For inclusion of laymen see A/4, f. 370; A/6, f. 96. The Committee is referred to in A/10, ff. 52, 61; A/15, f. 108a; A/91, ff. 25, 29. Many examples of the examining by ministers will be found in the volumes entitled *References of Petitions*.

partial manner: in Ireland the inclusion of Winter's name on almost every occasion is a sufficient guarantee of probity and fair dealing on the part of those divines who were appointed to examine the qualifications of an intending preacher.

As many ministers must have been appointed before 1654 in a most careless manner, no due regard being had to their characters, and as there was a danger (from the Commonwealth's point of view) that some of the 'prelatical' clergy would seize the opportunity afforded them by the irregularity of the methods of appointment, and insinuate themselves into the parishes which were theirs by legal right, the English Ordinance was made retrospective by the insertion of a clause to the effect that no person who had been placed in any benefice or lecture since April 1, 1653, should be allowed to continue in it, unless he had himself approved by the 24th of June, or at furthest the 23rd of July 1654. Evidently it was not intended that this rule should be acted upon in every instance, but its presence in the Ordinance empowered the Government to examine, and if necessary to eject with a show of legality, any minister of whose orthodoxy in things spiritual or temporal any doubt might be entertained. That this rule was enforced in Ireland where the occasion demanded it may be assumed, but it is extremely difficult to trace any instances of it.[1]

It was found to be a great inconvenience that there should be in England only one set of Triers, who resided in the capital, and who thus occasioned serious delay and tedious journeys to those who had to come from remote parts to stand their trial. To remedy this sub-commissioners were appointed in the farthest off counties. A somewhat similar method of relief was adopted in one instance in Ireland. By an order of the Council bearing date the 24th of April 1655 Major Peter Wallis, Vincent Gookin, Edward Waller, John Baker, Abraham Savage, and Mr. Wetherell, together with two ministers, Edward Worth and Claudius Gilbert, were formed into a Committee for approbation of ministers in Co. Cork;

[1] Neal, iv, p. 104.

in August Samuel Mather was added to this. Though one might reasonably expect that similar Committees would be formed for other parts of Ireland equally remote from Dublin, yet no trace appears of such having ever been done, which raises the suspicion that this particular Committee was formed with the principal object of sifting out any 'prelatical' clergy who might try to get back into their livings in Co. Cork, as well as of keeping a watch on those who still remained there. This must have been the occasion on which Samuel Mather was given the authority to displace Episcopalians in Munster, which he nobly refused to do. One would like to know what action was taken by the other members.[1]

Furthermore, it appears (according to Baxter, as quoted by Neal) that if any candidates were unable to come to London, or were of doubtful qualifications, the Commissioners at London used to refer them to some ministers in the county where they lived; and upon their testimonial they approved or rejected them. This arrangement was occasionally followed in the Northern Province. Thus in December 1654 the inhabitants of Ballintoy, Co. Antrim, petitioned that John Acton should be their minister, and accordingly Timothy Taylor was directed to examine his abilities and his good affection towards the Commonwealth. Presumably he sent in an unfavourable report, for there is no subsequent appearance of Acton's name. Again, just a year later William Warren was ordered to repair to Taylor to receive his trial of fitness at his hands. Two years later Taylor, together with two Presbyterian ministers, John Drisdaile and John Heart, were deputed to examine the petition of the people of the Barony of Lecale, who desired Robert Lesley as their minister. Occasionally other preachers were employed in a similar capacity, while sometimes Presbyterian ministers gave certificates with respect to such of their brethren as desired to be placed on salary or tithes. Generally speaking, however, the trial of Ulster ministers took place before the Committee in Dublin; but whenever the foregoing plan was adopted it appears that it was most frequently Taylor (alone, or with

[1] Neal, iv, p. 107; A/5, f. 228.

other ministers, or with laymen) who was appointed to examine. In 1656 he was given £50 ' in consideration of his faithful services for the State and the pains taken by him concerning the ministry in the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh ' ; evidently a bonus or reward for acting as above.[1]

It was also directed that all persons who offered themselves for approbation should present a certificate signed by at least three persons of known integrity, one of whom should be a preacher in some settled place, testifying to their personal knowledge of the good life and character of the intending minister. There are many incidental references to these certificates in Ireland, though the rule with respect to the number of signatories was not always adhered to. Those who came over from England usually brought certificates with them from Commissioners or other persons in that country who were appointed for the approbation of ministers. Furthermore, to such as were approved of in England an Instrument in writing under a common seal was given, by virtue of which they were put in full possession of the living to which they were appointed. An allusion is found in March 1656 to the settlement of ministers under the Broad Seal, but it would be unreasonable to expect that any example of a document of institutions should be found among records of the nature of the Council Books, though it is possible that a specimen may lie hidden among the private papers of some Irish family.[2]

Something may now be said with respect to the manner in which marriages were solemnized, and parochial records kept. The Directory laid down that before the solemnization the ' Purpose ' of Marriage between the contracting parties should be published by the minister on three several Sabbath days, in the congregation, at the place or places of their most usual abode respectively. The marriage was then to be performed by the minister in the place of public worship, and before a competent number of credible witnesses, according to a set form of words. The record of all such marriages was

[1] Neal, iv, p. 107 ; A/6, f. 29 ; A/8, f. 350 ; A/13, f. 37 a : bonus to Taylor, A/2, f. 468 : Presbyterian certificates are in A/91, ff. 74, 182.
[2] Neal, iv, p. 104 ; A/10, f. 43.

to be kept in a book provided for the purpose. Nothing was said about the recording of baptisms. Some of the early marriages entered in the registers of St. Michan's and of St. John's, must have been performed in accordance with this, though one is driven to speculate as to the exact form of service employed by such an upholder of the Prayer-Book as Dudley Boswell, prebendary of the latter church.[1]

However, the foregoing was modified in certain respects by a measure enacted by Barebone's Parliament in 1653. According to this a Registrar was to be appointed in each parish who was to publish the names and abodes of persons intending to be married on three several Lord's Days in the public-meeting-place; or, if the parties preferred it, in the *market-place* on three market-days in three several weeks between the hours of eleven and two. Then the persons to be married were to come before a *Justice of the Peace*, and go through a form of marriage prescribed in the Act. While the performance of religious rites was not prohibited it was laid down that 'no other marriage whatsoever within the Commonwealth of England after the 29th of September 1653 shall be accounted a marriage according to the laws of England'; but this exceedingly harsh clause was repealed by an Act of 1656. This Act was to come into force on and after December 1, 1653, and so continued until the Restoration. In order to preserve a record of the marriages it was ordered that a book of good vellum or parchment should be provided in every parish for the registering of all such marriages, and of all births of children, and burials of all classes of people. The inhabitants of each parish were then to make choice of some able and honest person, who should be approved of by a Justice of the Peace, to act as Registrar, and have the book in his keeping. He was entitled to make small charges for the publishing of banns, and for making the necessary entries. Numerous instances of the publication of banns, and the subsequent civil marriage, may be found in the printed registers of St. Michan's and of Derry Cathedral.[2]

[1] The Directory is printed in Neal, iii, pp. 564–91.
[2] For the Act see *Par. Reg. Soc.*, iv, pp. 27–8.

With reference to the country districts it was further enacted that where there were small parishes, or places not within any parish, or no usual morning exercise on the Lord's Day, the Justices of the Peace might, at their discretion, unite two or more such parishes, one Registrar to serve for such parishes so united. This was extremely necessary for parts of Ireland, and it is therefore in connexion with this that we find the unique record entitled the Register of the Liberties of Cashel, which has been published by the Dublin Parish Register Society as part of its fourth volume. This owes its existence to the fact that after the Restoration it was used as the Chapter-Book of Cashel Cathedral. It contains a list of civil marriages performed in a portion of Co. Tipperary between 1654 and 1657; of the birth and funeral entries, to which allusion is made on its title-page, no trace remains. The Registrar, Maurice Owen, also acted as schoolmaster at Cashel, and appears to have been formerly a captain in the Army (A/58, f. 384). The persons married, who were almost all Roman Catholics, came with very few exceptions from the Baronies of Middlethird, Kilnamanagh, Eliogarty, Slieveardagh, and Clanwilliam; or, to speak ecclesiastically, from the Diocese of Cashel, and from that portion of the Diocese of Emly, which lies in Co. Tipperary. The use of the term 'liberties' in this respect is peculiar, but it is evidently intended to apply to a district laid out by the Justices of the Peace, within which marriages might be solemnized, all the records being kept at some central town where the Registrar might conveniently reside. A glance at the map will show that Cashel admirably served the purpose for the above Baronies. It is probable that, in accordance with the latitude allowed by the Act, the Government contemplated dividing at least the sparsely populated parts of Ireland into 'liberties' with the object of simplifying registration and of affording facilities for marriages: these would be quite distinct from the 'Precincts', though it might occasionally happen that in some parts, e. g. Co. Kerry, the two divisions would be co-terminous. There is nothing to show to what extent the plan was adopted.

It has already been stated that considerable hostility was shown towards the Ulster Presbyterians in May 1653. This soon died down, and indeed the Government changed its attitude altogether. At the commencement of July in that year the Surveyor of Public Revenues and Stores in Ireland was directed to deliver the list of ministers returned out of Ulster unto the Commissioners appointed for the settling of that Province who were to consider and certify which of them they conceived fit to be employed in preaching the Gospel, and in what places within the Province. In the following month Colonels Venables and Barrow were ordered to consider the ministers who then officiated in Ulster, and to forward a list of such as they believed to be peaceable and best able to preach, and as well to give an account of the maintenance they were then receiving and by whom it was paid, 'so that they may be disposed equally'. It is to be presumed that the Government desired to put them on a like footing with the other ministers in Ireland as regards State-paid salaries, not being blind to the fact that such a method of payment gave them the whip-hand over the payees. At the time no results followed.[1]

Many Presbyterian ministers returned from Scotland, and the Church grew and increased, so much so that the ministers thought it their duty to meet 'presbyterially', which they did at various places publicly and frequently, without let or hindrance from the Government. Some opposition was at first shown to them by Colonel Barrow, an Anabaptist, who was egged on (as Adair states) by the old episcopal party. He determined to use his endeavours to have their meetings suppressed, but was dissuaded from this by a gentleman of Independent opinions, who visited one of their meetings by chance, and was so impressed by what he saw and heard that he reported to Barrow that he never perceived more of God's presence in any assembly of people.[2]

But the Ulster Church was exposed to another danger, this time from within, which would have undoubtedly have caused a serious cleavage in it, had not such been averted by the

[1] A/ 4, f. 259; A/90, f. 526. [2] Adair, p. 207.

prompt and commendable action of the Presbytery. In 1650 the Commission of the Scottish Assembly adopted two resolutions sanctioning the admission into the Army of all persons except those who laboured under certain ecclesiastical disabilities. Those who favoured these resolutions were known as Resolutioners, and those who opposed them as Protestors or Remonstrators. The Church in Scotland was divided on this point, and the exiled Irish ministers not unnaturally took sides, and agreed with the opinions held by the respective Presbyteries in which they were located. Thus dissensions arose among themselves, and would have caused much harm, had not the Commission given them a timely snub for interfering in matters which did not concern them. At this the exiles resolved to meet together, and did so at Ayr; and after serious debate determined that they would keep themselves from all questions relating to the existing differences in Scotland lest schism should be thereby introduced among them; they also foresaw the danger, on their hoped-for return to Ireland, of carrying 'as much of a strange fire in their skirts as might kindle divisions in that little church, and make irreparable rents among themselves'.

The wisdom of these proceedings was subsequently seen. The seven or eight ministers who had remained in Ulster all through the troubles cared nothing about the question with which the Scottish Church was so deeply concerned; but their brethren on their return to Ireland introduced it, and it bade fair to become a cause of bitter dissension. The majority were Resolutioners, but in the district of the Lagan there were only four ministers at the time, Hugh Cunningham and William Semple, who were Protestors, and 'two other who had lurked in the country', evidently Ker and O'Quin, who were also of that opinion: it appears that there was thus a danger that the Lagan and Route would be planted with Protesting ministers, and that in consequence a schism would be caused. Accordingly the body of the Presbytery appointed a meeting at Bangor in 1654 in order to compose their differences, and at this one of the brethren whom neither party mistrusted (was this Adair himself!) was chosen

Moderator. A most satisfactory conclusion was arrived at. Three 'overtures' were introduced, the first and most important of which, termed the Act of Bangor, laid down as a hard and fast rule that there should be no mutual contestings about the differences in the church in Scotland, nor any allusions made to them in public preaching or prayer, except in so far as they should be intended for the purpose of praying that the breach should be healed. The remaining two overtures contained injunctions about the planting of the church with ministers from Scotland, with the principal object of guarding against the re-introduction of the vexed questions. By this speedy and prudent action the unity of the church was preserved, and as a natural result it flourished and increased.[1]

The question of the maintenance of these ministers then arose. Those who had remained in Ireland had hardly anything to subsist upon, though the new-comers obtained slightly better conditions from the parishes which gave them a call, yet in most instances the stipends were extremely meagre. It appears, however, that a few of those who had returned from Scotland had gone to Dublin and had been accepted as 'ministers of the Gospel' by the Government, and consequently placed on salary, without any conditions being given or offered. The ministers who acted thus were of Protesting opinions, according to Adair, whose statements are borne out by entries in the Council Books. By an order of the 29th of March 1654 William Semple, who had received a testimonial of ability from Samuel Winter, was directed to repair to Lurgan (*recté* Lagan), Precinct of Belfast, and if the Commissioners of Revenue then found him satisfactory he was to receive a salary of £80; a mistake was made about the amount of his stipend, which was only intended to be £60, but was subsequently raised to the higher figure, and was further increased to £100. The next day, on the consideration of a motion brought forward by Timothy Taylor on behalf of O'Quin and another minister (Ker), it was ordered that the former should get £40; Ker subsequently received

[1] Adair, pp. 204–15.

£100. In the middle of the following May it was directed that Hugh Cunningham, James Wallace, and Thomas Drummond should preach in the Precinct of Derry, each at £60. These stipends were subsequently increased.[1]

These six, of whom four were certainly Protestors, were the only Presbyterian ministers who were paid stipends by the State up to the middle of the year 1654, as the Resolutioners made no application ; it would seem that their hesitation was due to their desire to be settled on tithes, as formerly, and this they had good reason to believe would not be granted. Nevertheless the Government seemed genuinely anxious to afford encouragement to the remainder, and bring them in on equal terms with their brethren, for on the 1st of April 1654 a communication was sent to the Commissioners of Revenue in Belfast and Derry, recommending to their ' faithful enquiry' such persons of the Scots nation living in those two Precincts as they had reason to believe were godly, and of a peaceable disposition, in order that the admitted deficiency of ministers in the Province might be made good. Six weeks later a demand was made for a certified list of those considered fit to preach in Ulster.[2]

The final step towards the settlement of the question was taken by the Presbyterians themselves. It happened that Sir John Clotworthy had come into Ireland on family affairs and in the course of his visit he was approached by Patrick Adair, who desired to consult him about supplying the vacancy caused by the death of Archibald Ferguson of Antrim. In the course of conversation Sir John questioned him as to the method by which the ministers were supported, on which point Adair gave him full information. At this Sir John suggested that some ministers and laymen should be chosen to accompany him to Dublin to represent their case to the Lord Deputy Fleetwood and the Council, promising them that he would use his influence towards getting them a competent maintenance. Accordingly Andrew Stewart was chosen to

[1] Adair, pp. 206, 209, 218. For Semple see A/1, ff. 126, 191, 196 ; O'Quin and Ker, *ibid.* ff. 141, 259 : Cunningham, &c., *ibid.* f. 191. See also Civil List for 1654 in A/33, ff. 37–8.

[2] A/90, ff. 638 (date incorrectly given as 1653), 705.

represent the ministers, and Captain James Moor, the laymen, of Co. Down; while Antrim sent Patrick Adair and Captain Langford, but the latter refused to act. These three then accompanied Sir John to Dublin about the end of March 1655, where the matter was laid before the Council. The ministers themselves did not make a formal appearance, but handed in a paper requesting that the sequestration might be taken off their tithes, and that thus they might have the legal maintenance belonging to their respective parishes. Sir John pleaded their cause with some heat, but the Council refused to differentiate between them and the other ministers in Ireland, or to allow them any other method of support than by salary.[1]

After a protracted attendance on the Council the deputation found it could get no other terms, and so at length its members returned to Ulster and reported accordingly. The ministers debated the question, and, taking into consideration the poverty of their flocks, the absence of all conditions attached to the payment of the stipends, and that as well what they would get would only be their own, as their tithes had been taken into the Treasury, they resolved to accept the offer of the Government.

Of the various steps in the negotiations which culminated in the payment of fourteen Presbyterian ministers and their establishment in the counties of Down and Antrim, otherwise the Precinct of Belfast, we know nothing except what may be gleaned from the following document. This exists in two forms, a shorter and a longer; the first is dated 22nd of April 1655, the second 9th of May. It appears that certain 'allegations', now lost, had been presented to the Government by the Protestant inhabitants of those two counties, evidently relating to the method of appointment of ministers. In answer to these it was ordered that:

(1) 'Such patrons as have not forfeited their right of presentation be permitted to present the names of such

[1] The date of this application is approximately determined by two points: (1) Ferguson died in December 1654 (Reid, ii, p. 289 n.), and it is evident that the conversation between Adair and Clotworthy took place some time after his death. (2) Reid (p. 292 n.) shows by a quotation that Adair was in Dublin on 'public concernments' early in April 1655.

ministers as in and by the Ordinance (in that case provided) is directed, (being persons fearing God etc., and not delinquents to the State), and such ministers shall receive their respective tithes due to such benefices to which they shall be presented, or be otherwise provided for out of the public Treasury as shall be most for their comfortable subsistence.

(2) ' Where the right of presentation is legally devolved to the Commonwealth in such case if the inhabitants of those places shall present the names of able godly ministers qualified for preaching the Word all due care shall be taken for making of provision, and affording all due encouragement requisite for their comfortable subsistence, and for the supply of destitute places with persons qualified.

(3) ' For such incumbents as are duly settled in any livings according to law, and are not scandalous or delinquents, the names of such also, and of the churches and places where they claim, are to be represented unto this Board, with the yearly value of the livings, to the end that consideration may be had thereof, and such further order given as shall be agreeable to justice and their respective demerits.'

The longer form agrees almost verbally with the above, except in the concluding lines.

' —— value of the livings. It is hereby ordered that Col. Robert Barrow, Lt.-Col. James Traill, Mr [Timothy] Taylor, or any two of them, examine the claims of the present incumbents within the above two counties, as also receive the names of such as shall be presented as persons fitly qualified for gospel-preaching, and they, or any two of them, being satisfied that they are pious etc., and not delinquents, they are to return the names to us, and being approved by us they shall immediately be provided for with a comfortable sufficient maintenance '.[1]

The existence of the two forms of the document may be explained as follows. The earlier and shorter one would represent a formal statement on the part of the Government with respect to the line of action it proposed to take, and the concessions it was willing to make in the case of patrons, parishioners, and ministers respectively: while the longer conclusion denotes a stage nearer a final settlement.

As a result of the returns made by Lieutenant-Colonel Traill and Timothy Taylor, as well as of a report made by the chief

[1] A/7, ff. 248, 292.

officers of the Army, it was ordered in November 1655 (and so after Fleetwood's departure) that fourteen Presbyterian ministers should each receive from the State a salary of £100 per annum, the first half-yearly payment to commence on the 25th of the following December. The names of these were : James Gordon, John Drisdaile, Patrick Adair, Robert Cunningham, John Greg, Gilbert Ramsey, Thomas Peebles, William Richardson, Andrew Stewart, Gabriel Cornwall, Thomas Hall, Gilbert Simpson, Andrew McCormick, and William Jack. These were all located in the Precinct of Belfast. A similar list appears in the following May, with the additional name of Donald Richmond. Another Presbyterian minister, James Johnston, petitioned in November 1655 that he might be established at Lisnaskea, where he had been working for some time unsalaried. His petition, accompanied by the necessary certificate of conduct, was referred for consideration to Dr. Winter and other ministers ; a few days later, as Dr. *Harrison* reported favourably on him, he was ordered to preach at that place at a salary of £60. In connexion with section 1 of the document quoted above it should be remembered that in Chapter III an instance has been given of Sir John Clotworthy exercising his right of presentation.[1]

That other Presbyterian ministers were returning to Ulster, and that some opposition was shown to them by their theological opponents, who no doubt had hoped that they had departed for ever, is proved by a petition from Humphrey Leigh, minister at Ballykelly, who made a complaint to the Lord Deputy in July of ' the undue carriage and resort of Scotch ministers, repairing without licences out of Scotland into those parts, and endeavouring to withdraw the affection of the people from the ministry '. A few months later Leigh and Semple had a dispute, in which victory inclined towards the latter. It is quite possible that in such disputings as these the Presbyterians were not altogether blameless, for in November Anthony Buckworth of Magheralin complained

[1] Adair, p. 220. For lists see A/5, f. 289 ; A/26, f. 215. Johnston's case is in A/5, f. 299 ; A/86, f. 9.

that he was from time to time disquieted and hindered by one Mr. Watson, a Scotch minister, and others of his party; as a result of which Watson was bound over to appear in person at the next county assizes.[1]

The question of the payment of ministers by tithes instead of by fixed salaries, in which was involved the settlement of such in definite parishes, was one that had already been raised by others than the Presbyterians. On this point diametrically opposite views were held during the Commonwealth period. At one extreme stood such men as John Rogers, who praised the Commissioners for not burdening the preachers in Ireland with tithes or parishes, 'so that their consciences are not tied up to please men, or malignant humours, as parochial ministers and tithe-mongers here [in England] do.' On the other hand Edward Worth, in his funeral oration on Chief Justice Pepys, praises the deceased for his determined and continued opposition to the payment of ministers by salary 'as being that which left them at large (like those of old *sine titulo*) without relation to, or dependance on, any particular charge or people. And as that which opened a door to pluralities *tot quot*. Many parishes, yea some baronies, in this way not supplying one minister, nor he regarding to supply them. . . . From his first coming into this land he put forth his utmost for recovering to the ministers their proper and legal freehold, the tithes.'[2]

By whom the question was brought forward at this particular time is not clear, though it had been debated as early as July 1654. Fleetwood himself had no conscientious objection to such a method of payment, though he recognized that others disagreed with him in this. He was, however, strongly in favour of continuing the existing plan of bringing tithes into the Treasury, and of issuing warrants from thence for the payment of ministers, his reasons for this being that it prevented pluralities, and gave the paymasters considerable powers of restraint over turbulent persons: while the rever-

[1] A/9, ff. 70, 277.

[2] *Ohel*, p, 28; Worth, *Sermon on Chief Justice Pepys* (Dublin, 1659), p. 30.

sion to the old system would be the means of silencing several worthy preachers, meaning by this apparently the Anabaptists on salary, who had conscientious objections to tithes. Accordingly the matter was dropped, and was not revived until some years later, this time with some measure of success.[1]

Fleetwood had been appointed Lord Deputy in August 1654, when the extended term of the Commissioners had come to an end. One of the first acts done by him and his Council was to write to John Davenport of Newhaven, begging him to come to Ireland as the country was destitute of preachers, and promising him a comfortable subsistence and help towards the expense of removing. This man was one of the most celebrated New England preachers of the day. He was in Orders, and had been a London vicar, but had been forced to quit England owing to the Laudian persecution. A couple of weeks later similar letters were written to four other divines in New England, in which they were promised £100 a year each, and a grant of £50 towards removal charges. Only one of these (John Millard) saw fit to respond to the invitation.[2]

The attempts made to induce English ministers to settle in Ireland frequently met with similar discouragement. Though they were assured of a satisfactory stipend, and were as well given a sum of money in hand to pay their expenses thither, it was with difficulty that any could be induced to remove into the country, while some of those who had engaged to do so ultimately hung back. In February 1655 the Council of State ordered that an account should be rendered to them of the moneys laid out for transporting preachers to Ireland, and that they should be furnished with the names of those persons who had received a grant for this purpose, but had not gone. It even became necessary to compel certain of these to enter into security that they would leave for Ireland within six weeks of receiving the money.[3]

Despite this the ranks of the ministers in Ireland were being

[1] Fleetwood to Thurloe, in *Thurloe*, ii, pp. 445, 733; iii, p. 305.
[2] A/30, ff. 5, 18; Neal, ii, p. 264.
[3] *S. P. Dom.*, viii, pp. 50, 66, 176.

gradually swelled. At the end of the year 1651 old style (March 1652) there were only about a dozen preachers in the country who were receiving State-salary; the majority of these were located in or near Dublin. But as the country grew more settled these increased rapidly in number, for the Civil List for 1654 (in A/33) contains one hundred and eleven men who were then to be found all over Ireland in the towns and garrisons; these comprised Independents and Episcopalians, a few Anabaptists, and about half a dozen 'Protesting' Presbyterians. Some of these were recruited in Ireland, many had been brought from England, while two of the number, Edmund Weld and Thomas (or Robert) Thornton, came from New England.

Search was made for ministers in Co. Cork in 1655, partly with the object of obtaining preachers, and partly for the purpose of finding out what men remained there, and the nature of their opinions. On the 12th of April Worth was directed to furnish in writing to the Council the names of such ministers in Co. Cork, or the Province of Munster, as he should conceive to be godly, able to preach, not scandalous, and faithful to the interests of the Commonwealth. Twelve days later Major Peter Wallis and others who formed the Committee for Approbation of Ministers in Cork were directed to make a similar return, as well as to ascertain what men had any title to any benefice, when they were presented, by whom, and what character they bore.[1]

During this period Trinity College had been carrying on its work under the fostering care of Provost Winter. Some of the Fellows had returned and continued in office under the new state of things, but as there was evidently a scarcity of such the following entry appears with respect to the filling of vacancies with suitable men of the Puritan persuasion. It appears that 'sundry godly and well-affected persons in Ireland' had presented a petition to the Lord Deputy in which they lamented 'the want of godly Fellows in the college at Dublin for the pious, as well as learned, education of youth', and requested that such as were both godly and

[1] A/5, ff. 126, 139.

learned might be chosen. The matter was referred to a committee consisting of the Provost, Claudius Gilbert, and Henry Wotton, who were to consider the following names, viz. (Edward) Veale, (William) Oliver, Samuel Winter *junior*, (Joseph) Scott, (John) Price, (William) Burton, ( ) Marsden, 'Sir' Dod, or any others in the College as should be sufficiently well qualified for fellowships, and to see that the first vacancies should be supplied by such. This was dated March 12, 1655, and in the margin of the entry is written, 'Ye delegates of ye Congregational Churches,' who were evidently the promoters of the petition.[1]

Though this was done under Fleetwood's administration yet it must not be regarded as an attempt to introduce an Anabaptist element into the College in opposition to Winter's known prejudices: the contrary is the case, as shown by the marginal note. Furthermore, at least three of these men were Independents, and it is probable that the others were of the same way of thinking. With the exception of Dod, and perhaps Marsden, as we do not know if Jeremiah is the one referred to above, all these men were then or subsequently found acting as preachers. In the previous July Oliver, Burton, and Scott, B.A.'s, were ordered to preach every Lord's Day at Clondalkin and other places, and were granted money for the purchase of horses. It appears that it was not unusual to send graduates or Fellows out of Trinity College to preach at places near Dublin which had no resident minister, Veale and Lecky were sent for this purpose to Dunboyne, as the Council refused to sanction the appointment of a preacher there until a suitable one could be obtained. Of the two men associated with Winter in the choice of new Fellows Henry Wotton had himself been appointed to a Fellowship in December 1652; but Gilbert does not appear to have had any official connexion with the College.[2]

That the Government considered it had a duty to perform with respect to the conversion of the Irish, especially through

[1] A/6, f. 123.

[2] A/1, f. 266; A/6, ff. 117, 279. For Wotton's Fellowship see A/82, f. 464.

the medium of preaching to them in their own language, is clear from several entries in the Council Books. It is now necessary to trace the progress of this movement down to the close of Fleetwood's administration in Ireland.

As early as January to June 1651 it was reported by Colonel Hewson that seven hundred and fifty 'Papists' in Dublin had forsaken the error of their ways and were attending the 'public ordinances'. Robert Chambers had been appointed to minister to these, to whose house they were said to flock eagerly for instruction once a week. In August 1652 a sum of £52 was set aside for one year to pay such ministers as should preach the Gospel in Irish in that city; this was to be distributed quarterly among them, but no one minister was to get more than 20*s*. for any one lecture. In September 1653 Murdo McKenzy was directed to preach in Irish as well as in English in the Precinct of Athy.[1]

These well-meant efforts produced at least some outward results, but the sincerity of the converts came under suspicion, for in July 1654 an order was issued to John Murcot and certain laymen to examine into the conversion of the Irish about Athy, who for that reason had been dispensed from transplanting, and to see 'whether they have upon any conscientious grounds deserted popery, or for any feigned consideration or by-ends pretended the embracing of protestantism'. A similar order was issued the same day to the Mayor and other persons in Dublin. In the first instance at least an unsatisfactory report must have been returned, for it is significant that although the phrase 'to preach *in Irish*' was written after McKenzy's name in the Civil List for 1655 the two words here italicized were subsequently erased, which indicates that preaching at Athy in that language was discontinued.[2]

Some other instances occurring during this period may be noticed. In August 1652 Daniel Godfrey (*recté* Godfrey Daniel) was paid £40 a year to preach the Gospel to the Irish (*in Irish* in the margin), no place being mentioned. In the

[1] Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement* (2nd ed.), p. 281; A/58, ff. 15, 445.
[2] A/19, f. 23; A/85, f. 47/2.

following month John Baskerville, formerly a beneficed clergyman of the Diocese of Ossory, was sent into Queen's Co. as schoolmaster, and was also permitted to preach to the people in Irish. In Ulster Hugh Graffan had been directed to preach to the Irish natives, possibly in the vernacular. In January 1654 the Irish inhabitants of Wexford had expressed their desire for a preacher, requesting that Humphrey Good, an Episcopalian, might be sent to them; this was granted on receipt of a satisfactory certificate from Colonel Thomas Sadleir. About 1654 Richard Fitzgerald preached in the Irish tongue at Dungarvan. It is evident that in their attempts to convert the Irish by means of their own language the Government must have made use both of bi-lingual Presbyterian ministers, as well as of the Irish-speaking Episcopal clergy, once so numerous, of whom only a remnant was left in the country.[1]

Provost Winter himself took a practical interest in the matter, and may even have gone to the length of learning the language, for an Irish catechism was included in the books taken by him on his Ulster journey in 1653. This may have been that book written by William Perkins, a Fellow of Cambridge, and entitled *The Christian Doctrine, or the Foundation of Christ's religion, Gathered into Six Principles, necessary for every ignorant Man to learn.* This had been translated into Irish by Godfrey Daniel, M.A., and printed in double columns (English and Irish) by William Bladen, the Dublin printer, in 1652; to it was appended a series of brief rules for learning the Irish tongue.[2]

In November 1651 it was suggested by the Commissioners to Colonel Venables that that strange character Jeremy O'Quin should be sent to preach in Dublin, Limerick, or Kilkenny, or to some place where there were Irish that could not speak English. Their motive on this occasion was very obvious. It had been reported to them that O'Quin was 'somewhat embittered against the interest of England, and

[1] A/33, f. 34; A/58, ff. 13, 33, 495. Wexford Petition in A/1, f. 41.
[2] MS. T. C. D. F. 6, 3, f. 42 b. No copy of this Irish book is to be found in the country.

had of late publicly expressed the same in prayers and other public exercises', and accordingly it was deemed prudent that he should be removed as far as possible from Ulster. That nothing was done in this respect may be inferred from his presence at the dispute that took place at Antrim in the following March. Again, in July 1654 he was ordered to preach to the transplanted Irish at Athlone, Loughrea, or other places in Connaught, £20 being allowed him for travelling expenses. This order seems also to have been disregarded, for just a year later he and James Wallace were directed by the Council to come to Dublin, and were then sent on a missionary tour through Connaught and Clare, O'Quin preaching in Irish, and his companion in English.[1]

Some further steps were taken during Henry Cromwell's administration, but the movement was undertaken in a half-hearted manner; at any rate, though the plan of preaching to the natives in their own tongue was an admirable one, it came a hundred years too late, while the events that had occurred since 1649 were not such as were calculated to attract the Roman Catholics to any form of Protestantism.

The period of Fleetwood's administration in Ireland was now drawing to a close. Under it Anabaptism had flourished and grown strong, though its strength was principally to be seen in the Army and civil government: in that department of State which must be termed ecclesiastical its effects were not so much to be observed, for there is no indication that its adherents endeavoured to supplant the other denominations, or to draw to themselves an unfair proportion of the public money set aside for ministerial salaries. Indeed, from the sources at our disposal, it is only possible to identify under a dozen salaried preachers as Anabaptists, while on the other hand the Independent ministers were encouraged. Amongst other points of Fleetwood's administration may be noted the commencement of the change of policy with respect to the Presbyterian ministers; the steps taken to have the Gospel effectually preached, partly through the medium of the Irish language; the efforts made to attract ministers of the four

[1] A/1, f. 254; A/5, f. 212; A/30, f. 77; A/85, f. 478; A/89, f. 202.

denominations, even from America: though the radical alteration in the method of examination and appointment of preachers, and the rules laid down with respect to the keeping of registers and solemnization of marriages, was not initiated by the Irish Government, but came direct from England. Thus a considerable amount of progress was made in things ecclesiastical between 1652 and 1655. But as Fleetwood was opposed to the new form of government which had been set up in England, Oliver Cromwell decided to recall him. Accordingly he left Ireland in September 1655, retaining the office of Lord Deputy, while two months previously Henry Cromwell had been sent over to reside in Dublin as Major-General of the Army, and virtual head of the Irish Government.[1]

[1] Bagwell, ii, p. 343.

CHAPTER VI

AFFAIRS UNDER HENRY CROMWELL

Henry Cromwell arrived in Ireland on or before the 11th of July; he was then between twenty-nine and thirty years of age. It had been rumoured that he was to be sent as Lord Deputy, but this was denied by his father in a letter to Fleetwood; the latter had received 'positive commands' to return to England, and did so early in the month of September. One of his last public actions was to take steps towards collecting money for the relief of the Waldenses: this collection was made on the 5th of July, not in the public meeting-place, but from house to house in every city, town, and parish. The massacre of these unhappy people had caused horror in Ireland, and revived the memories of 1641. Certain officers in the Irish army wrote to the Protector, hoping that he would not have 'an unsafe pity of those [the Roman Catholics] whose principles in all ages carry them forth to such brutish inhuman practices, which consist not with human society; let not such be untransplanted here, or unminded in England'.[1]

Henry was accompanied by his chaplain Francis Roberts—a Presbyterian, according to Adair—who was subsequently settled at St. Werburgh's, Dublin. At the time this church was filled by Thomas Wilkinson, an Anabaptist. The two ministers acted jointly (apparently) for a couple of years, but in the middle of 1657 Wilkinson was removed to Swords, at an increased salary. Some time prior to this he had preached temporarily at St. Catherine's, his place at St. Werburgh's being filled by Stephen Charnock.[2]

At the same time Henry Cromwell took steps to bring over a supply of ministers, ten of whom were each granted £50

[1] *Thurloe*, iii, pp. 467, 572, 612, 632, 697; A/30, f. 78.

[2] Adair, p. 223; A/22, f. 10a. For Wilkinson see A/8, f. 374; A/19, f. 19; A/20, f. 20; *History of Bapt. Irish Soc.*, Introd., p. lx.

passage-money. One of the best-known of the new-comers was Dr. Thomas Harrison, who had previously been invited from New England, where he had been trained up for the work of the ministry. On the 23rd of July 1655 he was directed to preach at St. John's, but on the 8th of September following he was appointed to deliver the forenoon sermon at Christ Church (the afternoon exercise being taken by Winter), and was settled there at £300 a year. His place in St. John's was taken by another prominent divine, Stephen Charnock, the author of the *Divine Attributes*. On the previous 23rd of July Charnock had been appointed to preach at St. Patrick's and St. Kevin's with Robert Chambers 'as they shall mutually agree, and the said Mr. Charnock to have the like liberty of the said public meeting-places as Mr. Chambers hath had'. In the end of October he was sent to St. Catherine's, and a month later was directed to preach at St. Werburgh's. Subsequently he was said to have been sent to Co. Cork on tithes, but it is doubtful if this were ever perfected. An estimate of the various oratorical merits of some of the new arrivals can be gained from the popular saying that 'Mr. Charnock's invention, Dr. Harrison's expression, and Mr. (Samuel) Mather's logic would make the perfectest preacher in the world'.[1]

Another new-comer, Nathaniel Brewster, who had been highly recommended to Fleetwood by the Protector, was also fixed in a city parish. He had overtaken Henry Cromwell at West Chester, and travelled with him to Dublin, where he was appointed to minister at St. Audoen's a few days after his arrival. Influenced no doubt by the good opinion entertained of him by his father, Henry treated him as a friend and confidant, and employed him as a trustworthy means of communication between him and Secretary Thurloe.[2]

Another minister whose name appears at this time is Joseph Teate, who was son to Dr. Faithful Teate, the one-time temporary Provost of the College. He was certainly

[1] *S. P. Dom.*, viii, p. 605. For Harrison see A/5, f. 204; A/9, f. 157. For Charnock see A/5, ff. 205, 263, 298; A/9, f. 157; A/22, f. 10a.
[2] A/5, f. 204; *Thurloe*, iii, pp. 572, 660; iv, p. 348; v, p. 508.

at Drogheda from August to December 1654, but must have subsequently gone into England, as in the following April he was granted £50 for his journey to Ireland. In November he was ordered to preach at Kilkenny, a position that he shared with William Wilsby, who appears to have been at Anabaptist who had taken Blackwood's place on the latter removing to Dublin. Indeed, it seems to have been part of Henry Cromwell's policy to plant a minister of his own, Episcopalian or Independent, beside an Anabaptist preacher whenever such was to be found in any of the principal towns.[1]

On the 21st of July 1655 Paul Amiraut (sometimes spelt Emerott) was appointed to preach at Carrick-on-Suir. 'Born of French parentage in High Germany, in the Palatinate, he was obliged to fly for conscience' sake to England, where he was ordained, and devoted himself assiduously to study. He held a benefice in Essex, and was in 1648 vicar of East Dereham in Norfolk.' It appears that there were many Huguenots in Ireland at this time, for John and Robert Durant, the latter being described as 'well skilled in the French tongue', were specially appointed to minister to the Irish garrisons, though the names of neither of these appear in the lists. Two other preachers bearing Huguenot names, John Mascall and Charles Nicolet, were appointed in 1656 to preach at Mallow and Bandon respectively.[2]

At the end of the year Sir Hardress Waller was treating with the Council with reference to bringing four able ministers to Ireland and settling them at Limerick. This was agreed upon, and it was promised that if they came they would be located near each other, so that they might not be deprived of the mutual comfort of each other's society. They were further assured of four fit houses, together with a convenient quantity of land with each, not exceeding in the whole 2,000 acres. Other ministers too came over about the same period, and in all the list for 1655 shows an increase of about thirty names on that for the preceding year.[3]

[1] A/5, f. 300; A/22, f. 11; 1c. 8c. 128, f. 162; *S. P. Dom.*, viii, p. 603.
[2] Gimlette, *Huguenot Settlers in Ireland*, pp. 185, 186, 194; A/5, f. 204; A/20, f. 24; A/26, f. 177.
[3] A/5, f. 307; A/10, f. 39; A/30, f. 108; Civil List for 1655 in A/19.

Yet all through the spring and summer of 1655 the cry went up for more ministers. In February a Committee consisting of Justice Cooke, Bishop Jones, Dr. Harding, Winter, and Wotton, was appointed to consider what Protestant towns needed preachers, what was the former settled maintenance of a minister in each, and who had the right of presentation. In the following July the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to England, promising that all duly certified ministers coming over should receive a suitable maintenance, provided they were also found to be 'men fearing God, of holy and unblameable life, fitly qualified to preach the Gospel, of brotherly, sober, and healing spirits, able to make known the riches of love and free grace through Christ'. Letters were also written to New England ministers in January 1656, but without effect. Some months prior to this a prominent divine from the New World, Samuel Mather, had responded to the call, and was fixed at St. Nicholas's in Dublin. His better-known brother Increase followed him in 1657, and was established at Magherafelt; but he did not make a long stay in Ireland, as the climate did not suit him.[1]

In or about the summer of 1655 several of the ministers in the country formed themselves into an association on the lines of those organizations which were being established in England at that period, principally through the influence of Richard Baxter, for the purpose of dealing with such matters as the administration of the Holy Communion, ordination, and mutual assistance in preaching the Gospel. On the 5th of July 1655 a letter was written to Baxter in the name of the Associated Churches of Christ in Ireland, stating that through Colonel Bridge's assistance they desired to maintain a Christian correspondence with England. This was signed by Winter, Claudius Gilbert of Limerick, Edward Reynolds of Kilmallock, Thomas Osmington of New Ross, and two laymen. An answer was sent by Baxter in August, declaring the willingness on his part to maintain a correspondency. Another letter, signed by Winter and four of his Elders, was

[1] A/5, f. 87; A/30, ff. 82, 128. For S. Mather see A/2, f. 152; 1c. 8c. 128, f. 331. For I. Mather see A/22, f. 14; Urwick, p. 81.

sent in the following January, in which they encourage Baxter and his friends in their efforts to promote union, and thank him for his joy at their association and success. Another Association existed at Cork in this year, which will be dealt with at length elsewhere.[1]

The plan for instructing the natives in the principles of Protestantism through the medium of the language of their childhood was continued, though without much success. In the Civil List for 1655 (which in its present form is not earlier than the date of Henry Cromwell's arrival) there occurs the following entry: 'Alderman Hooke, Dr. Jones, Mr. Robert Chambers, Mr. John Price, or any two of them, to be Overseers of the Irish lecture.' Against the item is set the amount allowed, £120, while in the opposite margin appear the words 'For ye Irish lecturers'. This may have reference to the famous lecture which had been established by Bedell, and discontinued by Chappell, but it seems more probable that it was merely an attempt to continue that lecture which was instituted in the metropolis in August 1652; at any rate nothing was effected, as the entry was subsequently erased, and the word 'discontinued' written against it.[2]

The only other instance recorded of Irish preaching in Dublin at this period proved a failure. A converted Roman Catholic priest, James Carey, who had come from England with satisfactory testimonials, was appointed in March 1656 'on account of the usefulness of his gifts in order to the Conversion of the poor and ignorant natives to preach to the Irish at Bride's parish every Lord's Day', and was as well to repair occasionally to Trim and Athy for the same purpose. But, as one might expect, his ministry proved very unacceptable, for in August following he complained that the members of his congregation were very remiss in coming to hear him preach, and that they rather preferred to spend the hours appointed for Service in frequenting ale-houses, or indulging in 'unwarrantable exercises'. As a natural consequence the threat of transportation into Connaught or Clare

[1] Sylvester's *Life of Baxter*, Book I, pt. ii, pp. 169–72.
[2] A/19, f. 19.

was suspended over them if they were still found to continue obdurate. Nothing is recorded at this immediate period about Irish-speaking ministers being appointed in other parts of Ireland; but it may be presumed that such as had been already sent to various locations were endeavouring to carry on the work to the best of their several abilities. It also appears that occasionally men who did not know Irish preached to the Roman Catholics in the English language, while the schoolmasters and mistresses must have endeavoured to influence the children.[1]

About a month after his arrival Henry Cromwell was entertained with great solemnity by Trinity College, as being their Chancellor. He was met at the entrance gates by Provost Winter, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Dudley Loftus, and a number of Doctors, all clad in scarlet robes. This imposing procession, swelled by the Graduates, conducted him to the Convocation House, where the University offered him their congratulatory salutations through Dr. Daniel Rowles, who at the time acted as minister at Swords. Several honorary degrees were conferred, and afterwards the Provost entertained the Lord Deputy and Council with a banquet at his lodgings. This of itself would show that there was organized life in the College, and that as well the advent of Puritanism had not driven out the old stately ceremonial. Henry Cromwell's appointment to the Chancellorship was illegal, strictly speaking, for that office was still retained by Ormond, though in exile, who resumed it at the Restoration.[2]

Toleration in religious matters, within certain limits, was now the order of the day. That this did not extend to 'popery' need hardly be said; neither was countenance given to anything that might be comprised under the term 'prelacy', as the following incident shows. Information had been lodged with the Council that 'sundry persons have intruded themselves to officiate as ministers of the Gospel in divers meeting-places within this city [Dublin], some of which persons are reported to be weakly qualified for the dispensing

[1] A/2, f. 51; A/12, f. 181; A/86, f. 125.
[2] *Clarke Papers* (ed. Firth), iii, p. 40; Mahaffy, p. 302.

of the Word, and scandalous in their lives and conversations; and others are disaffected to the present Government, as also such as read the Common Prayer, or countenance the same, contrary to the intent of an Act of Parliament, to the great grief and just offence of divers godly persons, and contempt of Government'. Accordingly, by an order dated the 29th of November, 1655, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir John Temple, and others were directed to examine into the truth of the matter. It was subsequently discovered that the principal offenders were Carr, Pilsworth, and Lovelace, who appear to have been occupying certain churches. A Committee was appointed to ascertain by what right these had officiated, and as well 'to inform itself about the ministers that preach in Dublin, and the lives thereof, that have not been approved of, or are upon a public salary'.[1]

Nothing more is said on the matter at this time, nor is any clue given in the Council Books as to the identity of the churches at which these men officiated, but from other sources some light can be thrown on the matter. It has already been shown in Chapter II that Carr ministered at St. John's in 1651 and 1652; Dr. Harrison was subsequently appointed to that church, but was shortly after succeeded by Charnock, who was removed to St. Catherine's in October. Can it be that Carr had been suspended in favour of Harrison, and that in anger at this he had attempted to regain possession of his church during the vacancy caused by Charnock's removal? The decided views of William Pilsworth on the question of the use of the Prayer-Book must have been well known to the authorities; the church referred to in his case was evidently St. Michael's, where he had been officiating in 1647 or thereabouts, and where he was continuing to act as preacher in February 1654. At this period it was apparently unoccupied (by a State-appointed minister), as there is no record of any appointment having been made to it prior to this; and that some of the city churches were in like condition at this date may be inferred from an order given to Waller and others to ascertain what meeting-places in the city were most

[1] A/5. ff. 297, 333.

convenient for the Protestant inhabitants to assemble at, and how such might best be supplied with qualified ministers. Apparently Pilsworth had been suffered to retain his church down to the date of the occurrence of this incident. Edward Lovelace appears to have officiated at St. Catherine's, perhaps without the sanction of the Government, at some unknown date; at any rate he made his peace with the Lord Deputy, for in 1657 he was appointed 'minister of the Gospel' at Rathcool near Dublin.[1]

From the language employed in the Order of Council it would not be safe to infer that Divine Service according to the use of the Common Prayer Book had been openly celebrated at this date in any of the city churches. The opposite seems to be the case. However desirous any Episcopalian clergyman might be of so doing he would recognize the utter folly of taking a step which could lead to no good results, and one which would certainly bring down the swift wrath of the Government on him and his hearers. But it is quite possible that some of the clergy then resident in Dublin may have made use of the Prayer-Book in their private houses, or among their friends, and that some rumour of this had come to the ears of the authorities, who had, it must be confessed, good grounds for suspicion against Pilsworth and his fellow-clergy. It is significant that the affair occurred at the outset of Henry Cromwell's administration, and it would show that, however tolerant and broad-minded the new ruler might be, he had determined from the onset to tighten the somewhat slack reins of government, and not to permit any infringement of the (illegal) enactment against the use of the liturgy. The whole affair is strange; and rendered more so by the fact that just three years later two of these men reappear in what was virtually a sequel to the foregoing.

That it was possible for such rumours, baseless or not, to circulate in Dublin, the centre of government, would lead to the assumption that in other parts of the country, where

[1] For Pilsworth see R. Ware, *Hunting of Romish Fox*, p. 227; *Par. Reg. Soc.*, iii, p. 41. For Lovelace see A/22, f. 10 a; *Vestry-Book of St. Catherine's*, p. 21.

vigilance could not be exercised to the same degree, and where the Protestants were more in favour of it, the Prayer-Book was frequently used by the Episcopalian clergy who had been driven from their benefices in 1641 and subsequent years, and who had not taken office as preachers under the Commonwealth. This is but little more than an assumption, as the positive evidence in support of it at this time is of the slenderest, and consists principally of one or two statements in Ware. But that the authorities at this period, i.e. the commencement of Henry Cromwell's administration, were on the alert to detect and punish any attempts to make use of the liturgy is shown from an incident that occurred in Co. Cork, a part of Ireland where a very watchful eye was kept on the Episcopalians. It had been reported that a minister named John Hall (there were two of the name simultaneously in that Precinct, and both appear to have been Episcopalians) had countenanced the reading of the Prayer-Book in the church where he was accustomed to officiate. Dr. Worth and Joseph Eyres were deputed to examine the case, and reported that the charge was brought out of malice, and that Hall was innocent; accordingly by an order dated the 4th of December 1655 he was directed to preach at Mallow —— but does not appear to have gone there. That Worth should have been employed in such a capacity, and that he should have consented to act, is indicative of the length to which some members of the Low Church party had gone at this period.[1]

Further instances of the vigilance of the Government at this date are recorded in the Commonwealth Books. On the 4th of April 1656 it was ordered that Sir Hardress Waller, Sir R. King, Sir J. Temple, Colonels Hewson, Sankey, and Laurence, Winter, Harrison, Worth, Wotton, and Alderman Hooke should attend on Chief Justice Pepys and Chief Baron Corbet on the following Tuesday at 9 o'clock in the gallery chamber of the Castle for the purpose of perusing the Protector's order for approbation of ministers (dated 20th of March 1654), and such further orders as had been subsequently passed by the Irish Council. This being done they were to frame a series

[1] A/8, f. 334.

of rules, which were then to be referred to the Council for approval, with respect to the most satisfactory methods to be adopted for the trial of ministers, at the same time taking into consideration 'what testimony may be had concerning their lives, how weak and scandalous ones may be discontinued, and if any such intrude themselves they shall be removed, also how for the future the admitting such be prevented, also how destitute places may be supplied'. This was the Committee for Approbation, or Trial, of Ministers, to which allusion has already been made. No doubt the laymen were found exceedingly useful in the deliberations of this body, but from the evidence extant it appears that very rarely indeed did they take part in the examination of the qualifications of a would-be preacher, this being done by two or more of the clerical members. On the 22nd of December following it was ordered that Harrison, Worth, and (Thomas) Wilkinson should be added to this Committee; the force of this order is not obvious, as two of the names appear above.[1]

Within a few days the Committee presented a report to the Council, apparently with a rough draft of rules appended. This must have been found unsatisfactory, for on the 14th of April it was referred back to them, and they were directed to prepare instructions that would be found practicable 'for discovering and ejecting from officiating in the ministerial function such as shall be found weak, scandalous, popish, or ill-affected'. At the same time they were to state to what date they deemed it expedient that the rules they had presented should retrospect, especially with regard to the question of scandalous ministers, and they were also directed to offer any suggestions that occurred to them with respect to the settlement of a pious orthodox ministry in the country. Here our sources of information run dry. Nothing is known with respect to the rules framed, but it is certain that some steps were immediately taken against the Episcopalians, for in the succeeding month of May it was reported that there were several scandalous and malignant ministers who had been legally possessed of tithes before the Rebellion, but had

[1] A/10, f. 52; A/26, f. 261.

never been sequestered in an 'orderly way', who now had commenced to threaten the farmers of the same that they would sue them at law. The Council promised that it would speedily adopt a course by which these particular livings might be sequestered; and it may be presumed that it kept its word. One clergyman was especially mentioned by name, no doubt as being the worst offender; this was Charles Vaughan, rector of Banagher and Dungiven, Diocese of Derry.[1]

That the Government did not habitually act in a spirit of intolerance towards the Episcopalians as such is shown by the fact that towards the close of Fleetwood's administration, and in a more marked degree at the commencement of his successor's, many of the clergy of the Irish Church petitioned that they might either be taken on as ministers, or restored to their livings according to their former legal standpoint. That their desires were not always complied with is only what one would expect. The information with respect to these is usually to be found in the volumes entitled *References on Petitions*. The original petitions are not now forthcoming, with the result that the historian is deprived of the means of ascertaining the reasons brought forward by the petitioners for their expulsion from their livings, as well as the grounds on which they claimed the same. All that remain are the orders made thereon by the Council; and these, though valuable, are somewhat too concise, and give no hint as to why such varied treatment was meted out to the petitioners. A few illustrations will show the method of working.

In July 1655 George Creighton, a Co. Cavan rector, who had felt the effects of the storm which burst over that county in 1641, was reported on favourably by Winter and other ministers, and was accordingly fixed as a preacher in the Precinct of Belturbet. About a year later Jeremy Flawne petitioned that he might be settled in his former vicarages of Killashee and Temple Michael, Co. Longford, to which he had been appointed before the Rebellion. His title was examined, and his character investigated, with the result that

[1] A/10, ff. 61, 100; Mason, *Parochial Survey of Ireland*, i, p. 345.

his request was complied with; he was located in those parishes, not as vicar, but as State-paid minister.[1]

Not every petition was granted, as we have said. Very shortly after Henry Cromwell's arrival the English inhabitants of the Barony of Forth, Co. Wexford, stated that they had invited a minister from England named Adam Waller, and requested that he might be given certain unspecified parishes. From other entries it appears that the parish was Carne (Carna) in that county, and reading between the lines one is led to the conclusion that the parishioners had invited over their former rector, who had been appointed to that living by the Crown by Letters Patent dated 25th of February, XIV Charles I. The case dragged on, for reasons now unknown, until in the following February the Council refused its sanction; though two years later it completely reversed its decision. Again, in August 1655 Richard Deane petitioned to be settled in the vicarage of the Rower, Dio. Ossory, from which he had been driven by the insurgents at the commencement of the Rebellion. The answer given was 'Forasmuch as there hath been many precedents of the like favour granted unto others in the Court of Claims the Council think not fit to do anything thereon, but leave the petitioner to apply himself for remedy to such Court as shall be legally proper for the case'. What further steps Deane took we do not know, but his name does not appear again in the documents until the Restoration. No clue is afforded us in the records as to the reason why some of the clergy were accepted and others rejected, but it may safely be conjectured that the theological and political opinions of the latter were not such as would recommend them to the Council.[2]

Two cases receive more extended notice in the Commonwealth Books, and contain many points of interest. In June 1655, and therefore under Fleetwood's administration, Neptune Blood, member of a well-known Co. Clare family, petitioned that he might be restored to the rectory of Tradery

[1] For Creighton see A/9, f. 30; A/19, f. 33. For Flawne see A/11, f. 117; A/20, f. 26; A/25, f. 233.

[2] For Waller see A/9, f. 75; A/86, f. 153; A/91, f. 25. For Deane see A/9, f. 79; A/86, f. 195.

or Bunratty, to which he had been presented by Lord Henry O'Brien. The Attorney-General was therefore directed to examine his title and the patron's right of presentation, and was further ordered to inquire if there had been any omission in the continuance of incumbents to that parsonage, or any other lapse, since the death of Robert Sibthorpe. Everything was found in order, for at the end of August the Council stated that if the Earl of Thomond, or such as he might lawfully appoint, should present a person to the living who might be found able to preach the word, and of godly conversation, due regard would be had to such presentation. On this Lord Henry O'Brien wrote to the Council in favour of Blood. But in the meanwhile he had been examined by Winter and other ministers, who had reported unfavourably on him; upon which the Lord Deputy and Council refused to sanction the appointment. From this it appears that the Government was willing to admit a patron's right of presentation, or the validity of an incumbent's title, though it might refuse to accept the person presented on the score of insufficiency or malignancy.[1]

The second instance is that of Hugh Barclay. He appears in the Civil List for 1654 as settled at Clonlee or Lifford, to which it would seem that he had been appointed as incumbent at an unknown date. However, in August 1655 he sent up a petition to the Government, presumably to the effect that he should be restored to that parish on his former status. The matter was referred to the Attorney-General to see by whom he had been presented to the living, and how he came to be a lawful minister there; he was further directed to ascertain if there was a sufficient number of inhabitants resident in that parish to warrant the settling of a preacher amongst them. In the meantime his case was considered by Winter and other ministers. A satisfactory report was returned, with the result that in December he was settled as 'minister of the Gospel' at Lifford as from the 29th of September. Subsequently he was ejected. It will be remembered that the Ordinance of 1654 contained a retrospective

[1] A/6, f. 303; A/8, f. 105; A/9, ff. 17, 138, 157.

clause to the effect that any minister who was appointed subsequent to the 1st of April 1653 should have himself approved of before permission was granted to him to continue in the living. It may be that this rule influenced Barclay.[1]

When Henry Cromwell landed in Ireland he found many turbulent elements awaiting his arrival, and it was not long before these manifested themselves. As he professed the principles of Independency he frequented the churches where ministers who held those opinions officiated. The Anabaptists were incensed at this, as well as at his chaplains preaching against total immersion. On the other hand the Independents were overjoyed, averring that he had come over 'upon the wings of faith and prayer to put honour on the public worship of God, and life into His people, and a check upon some irregular spirits'. It was stated that 'the people flock eagerly to the Word. Hope, joy, and satisfaction may be read in most faces; they alone look sour who have swallowed up this good land, not only in expectation, but in actual possession'; while the ministers he brought 'shone as lights of a greater magnitude in this our horizon'. But the wrath of the Anabaptists was greatly increased at the removal of the too pliant Lord Deputy, as they clearly recognized that the man into whose hands the reins of government were then committed was one who would show them very little countenance, and accordingly the more turbulent members prepared themselves to give all the trouble possible. It was in military circles that the most disaffected Anabaptists were to be found: the chief of his 'peevish friends', as Henry terms them, were Adjutant-General Allen and Quartermaster-General (sometimes called Captain) Vernon; while another such was Colonel Hewson (with his three Anabaptist sons), who had formerly been a follower of the Independent John Rogers. It was estimated that the Anabaptist element in the Army was represented by ten colonels, three or four lieutenant-colonels, ten majors, nineteen or twenty captains, not to speak of twenty-three Civil List officers, and about a dozen military governors of towns. Dr. Harrison, the compiler of

[1] A/8, ff. 120, 339; A/9, ff. 107, 211; A/33, f. 38.

these interesting statistics, adds that there were then (October 1655) only two Anabaptist ministers receiving salaries, but against this it must be borne in mind that there were numerous preachers of that sect in the country at the time, while many of the Army officers preached and prayed as occasion arose.[1]

As a natural consequence the animosity between the religious bodies flared up afresh. The Dublin Anabaptists solemnly excommunicated a member and delivered him over to Satan, for joining himself to Winter's church. Shortly after his arrival Henry Cromwell went on a tour through the country, and was at Kilkenny in the middle of September. During his stay there a deputation consisting of Dr. Harrison and three other Independent ministers went on a sort of peace mission to Christopher Blackwood, 'the oracle of the Anabaptists in Ireland,' complaining that the members of that sect refused to associate with them in the public worship of God. The reason given by him for their abstention was, that the other bodies neglected 'the order of the Apostles by baptism', by which cryptic phrase he must have meant their non-observance of total immersion and their practice of infant baptism. He added, however, as a concession, that the Anabaptists were willing to join with them in a day of prayer, or in lectures, provided that they were permitted to speak last, so that if anything were said against orthodoxy (as conceived of by the Anabaptists) they might be enabled to correct it, and so vindicate the truth. He also demanded that the singing of psalms should be discontinued. It may be presumed that no results followed from this conference. Very shortly after this Blackwood was removed to Dublin, and took over the charge of Thomas Patient's congregation. Here, contrary to expectation, he bore himself discreetly and quietly towards Cromwell; though no doubt he and Winter lost no opportunity of shooting wingéd words at each other. While in Kilkenny he received a preacher's salary from the State; this was subsequently discontinued, either through Henry Cromwell's influence, or because Blackwood voluntarily

[1] *Clarke Papers*, iii, p. 52; H. C. and Harrison to Thurloe, in *Thurloe*, iii, p. 715; iv, pp. 90, 327, 433.

went off the Civil List for conscience' sake. He remained in Dublin until 1659, and was the author of several books, one of which, his bulky *Expositions and Sermons upon the first ten chapters of Matthew* (dedicated to Fleetwood), was partly finished before his departure from Kilkenny.[1]

Thus set free Patient departed on an evangelistic tour through the country, though it is to be feared that he preached something else than subjection to the Higher Powers. It was more than a mere coincidence that about the same time Captain Vernon should also have journeyed to various localities, visiting such centres of Anabaptism as Clonmel, Waterford, and Kilkenny; 'whether proselytising those of his religion to his present designs, as before he did their judgements to his religion, I know not certainly,' says Edward Warren, who seems to hint darkly in his letter to his unknown correspondent that the Anabaptists might even go to the length of attempting Henry Cromwell's assassination. Both these emissaries were back in Dublin by the middle of December, and lost no time in displaying their hostility. Henry was invited to the funeral of Adjutant-General Allen's wife, but was unable to be present owing to indisposition consequent on a severe cold; the sermon was preached by Patient on presumption, and the necessity and excellence of rebaptizing—unusual subjects for a funereal discourse! At a morning lecture in St. Michael's the pulpit was occupied by Vernon, who pointedly declared that it was a great judgement for the people of God to be placed under young or wicked governors, who were apt to be puffed up, and were prone to believe any lying reports carried to them by servants or whisperers.[2]

In opposition to this the Independent clergy eagerly hastened to display their friendly sentiments towards the new ruler. On the 1st of December the church at Wexford sent a congratulatory letter to Henry Cromwell, in which the members of it expressed their delight at the countenance

[1] Harrison to Thurloe, in *Thurloe*, iv, p. 90; Sankey to H. C., Lansd. MSS. 821, f. 52. Blackwood's name appears in the Civil List for 1654 (A/33, f. 33), but not in the later ones.

[2] Warren to ——, *Thurloe*, iv, p. 314; H. C. to Thurloe, *ibid.*, p. 327.

which he had given since his arrival to the public worship of God and to faithful ministers, and regretted that he had met with discouragement in certain quarters. This was signed by the minister, Robert Hobbs, and six of his congregation. A few days later a similar letter came from Timothy Taylor in the name of the church at Carrickfergus. In this he accounts it a special mercy that the Protector had sent his son over for the purpose of putting some check upon the presumption of the Anabaptists. 'In this healing work your lordship can hardly deal with so tender a hand, but the impatience of your patients (the allusion is obvious!) may enforce your Honour to misrepresentations and reproaches; but be of good cheer, my Lord, for your work is with the Lord, and your reward with your God.' At the same time Edward Wale, the minister at Waterford, wrote to Dr. Harrison stating that Henry's demeanour had everywhere been such that good people in general spoke well of him; and no doubt there were many other laudatory epistles sent from various parts of Ireland which have not been preserved.[1]

For their part the Anabaptists continued to asperse Henry Cromwell. They declared that he was altogether under the influence of the Independents, and even went to the length of accusing him of being 'priest-ridden' because some of the Independent ministers in Dublin were in the habit of resorting to his house in the evening. These and other aspersions were indignantly denied by him. Captain Vernon took the opportunity of making another pulpit attack on him, though some of the more prudent of his co-religionists were greatly displeased at this. 'This hath been my usage', writes Henry, 'since my coming thither, without any provocation from me offered to them, unless that I have not been subject to their will to do what they have imposed upon me and others. I bless the Lord I do get strength enough to bear their reproaches beyond what ever I expected, both in respect of my youth and natural temper.' In an interview with the Protector Vincent Gookin bore witness to the patience and

[1] Hobbs to H. C., *Thurloe*, iv, p. 270; Taylor to same, *ibid.*, p. 286. Wale's letter, *ibid.*, p. 314.

gentleness with which his son bore the numerous insults which had been offered to him. Finally, Henry told some of the Anabaptists plainly that although he would allow them full liberty in civil and religious matters, he would not permit them to rule him. This straight speaking bore good results, and went far towards bringing about a state of truce, if not of peace; indeed it would seem that the Anabaptists in general would have been friendly had not the flame of opposition been kept alight by a small but turbulent minority, with whom the real question at issue was not one of intolerance in religion, but of restraint put upon its power in civil affairs by one who endeavoured to hold the reins of government with impartial hand.[1]

Overawed by Henry Cromwell's firmness, and impressed by his fairness and moderation, the opposition offered by the Anabaptists gradually died down, and the members of that sect became more friendly in their disposition; while he, for his part, was unwilling to crush them when he found that their attitude towards him had undergone so favourable a change. Thomas Patient and others had paid him a visit in October 1656, in order to express their satisfaction at his management of affairs, as well as at the liberty granted by him to their followers.[2]

Though in Dublin there had been such compliance yet in other parts of Ireland the Anabaptists kept up their bitterness against those who differed from them in matters of religion. Nathaniel Brewster wrote to Thurloe in October 1656, after a long tour in Ireland in Cromwell's company, complaining of the generally unfriendly attitude of that body. He had endeavoured by every means in his power to bring about an agreement, 'but do find by experience, in six weeks' travelling, that they are everywhere unanimous and fixed in separating from us, even to the ordinance of hearing the Word, a thing that greatly afflicts my Lord, and many hundreds fearing God.' Some nine months later Reuben

[1] H. C. to Thurloe, *Thurloe*, iv, pp. 348, 376, 433; Gookin to H. C., Lansd. MSS., 821, f. 246.
[2] H. C. to Thurloe, *Thurloe*, i, p. 731; v, p. 710.

Esthorp, the minister at Galway, wrote to Henry with reference to the arrogance and tyranny of the Anabaptists in that town. In the course of a very interesting letter he stated that the military governor, Colonel Sadleir, allowed them the fullest licence, the more so as his wife had been 'dipped', at which event there had been great joy amongst that sect. He himself had endeavoured to avoid giving them any offence; except that he had baptized some children, and had refused to allow the Anabaptists to preach in the church, at which the Colonel was so offended that he threatened to resign his commission. The inhabitants of the towns were generally in favour of Esthorp, but any who gave proof of this by their words or actions were frowned upon by the dominant party. The leader of the sect, (Robert) Clarke, 'our great archbishop,' had declared that such as were not of his way of thinking were no better than Irish papists. The writer regrets that a town once so important should be now given up to the will of 'a few mechanick barbers and tailors'. He had been entrusted with the task of persuading merchants of good quality to plant in that city, which was then derelict; but pertinently adds, that if the Anabaptists were permitted to have their own way his efforts would be of no avail, for men would as readily choose to live under the Turks as under them.[1]

Besides the ever-fresh question of baptism another source of discord between the Anabaptists and the Independents arose from the fact that the latter were extremely anxious to be backed up by the secular arm, a principle to which the former were opposed. John Murcot states in his life (pp. 15–16) that one of the reasons which prevented him from settling in Cork was the absence of such support. 'In vain doth a Minister preach up the morality of the Sabbath, and the necessity of a religious observance, if the Magistrate draw not forth the sword of Justice, and severely punish its profane violators.' In December 1656 certain anonymous 'Queries'

[1] Brewster to Thurloe, *Thurloe*, v, p. 508. Esthorp's letter is in Lansd. MSS. 822, f. 86. For his letters on the planting of Galway see *ibid.*, ff. 154, 156.

were scattered about the city of Limerick, apparently by an Anabaptist, which were aimed against magistrates using compulsion against men's consciences in matters of religion. These were given, and dealt with at length, by the minister of that city, Claudius Gilbert, in his *Libertine School'd*, in which he says that the greater part of them were taken from Christopher Blackwood's book, *The Storming of Antichrist in his two last and strongest garrisons of Compulsion of Conscience and Infant Baptism.* Evidently the subject rankled in his mind, for in the preface to a subsequent work, *The Blessed Peacemaker and Christian Reconciler*, he lays stress on the magistrate being an instrument of God for man's good. The above books, with two others by the same author, may be found in a volume in Trinity College which was formerly the property, and bears the autograph, of Claudius Gilbert, his son and namesake, who proved a great benefactor to the College library; all four works furnishing a valuable picture of Puritan theology and preaching in a provincial city in Ireland under the Commonwealth.

Affairs gradually became more regulated, and by the commencement of February 1658 Henry Cromwell was able to report to Thurloe that the Anabaptists had become very quiet, and that he countenanced them accordingly, never having had any other intention than 'to bring them on a level with others of equal desert'.[1]

To add to Henry Cromwell's difficulties the rumour had got abroad, and had come to the Protector's ears, that the Independents were also dissatisfied with his management of affairs. On learning this the Independent churches hastened to make clear that it was utterly devoid of truth. Edward Wale wrote from Waterford to this effect, and a like statement was made by Colonel Cooper with respect to the church at Carrickfergus. An address was presented to him in June 1656 from Winter's congregation in Dublin, signed by the Provost, his two elders, and forty-one members, in which they declared that the report of their disaffection was a piece of pure fiction which had been invented of set purpose in order to cause a division

[1] *Thurloe*, vi, p. 819.

between him and them. As similar insinuations had been made in England they considered it their duty to state that they had abundant reason to thank God for Henry Cromwell's equal justice towards all and mercy towards the poor, for his endeavours to preserve unity among the different religious bodies, and for the countenance and encouragement that he gave to God's public ordinances by his frequent attendance at them, as well as to all godly ministers. Despite these encouraging marks of confidence in him Henry was so disheartened by the turn affairs had taken that he sought permission to retire from the post of government, as he felt that his further stay in Ireland would be of no benefit to the general public or to himself. 'My enemies insult, my friends droop, myself thereby rendered contemptible and altogether incapable of doing further service' he wrote despondently in July to Secretary Thurloe. The latter, in reply, assured him that there was no need for him to form any such resolution, as the calumnies of his opponents had not had such an effect in England as he had imagined.[1]

As if there were not a sufficient number of discordant ecclesiastical elements to engage the attentions of the Irish Government at this period a fresh one was introduced by the advent of Quakerism.

The first member of this sect to come to Ireland was the celebrated William Edmundson. He was an Englishman, and had been in the Army, but wearying of the life turned trader, came over to Dublin, and finally took a house in Antrim, where he set up in business. On selling out his goods he went over to England in 1653 with the object of replenishing his stock, and while there met with George Fox and James Naylor, who converted him. After his return to Ireland he established the first settled meeting of the Quakers at Lurgan, and then exercised himself as a preacher in various towns in Ireland, sometimes meeting with success, but more generally encountering opposition. The narrative of his travels, sufferings, and adventures, not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but

[1] H. C. to Thurloe, *Thurloe*, v, pp. 65, 177 ; Thurloe's reply, *ibid.*, p. 196, Winter's address is in *Milton's S. P.*, p. 137.

also in North America and the West Indies, is contained in a book which was published in London in 1715, and reprinted at Lindfield in 1833 as vol. iv of the *Friends' Library*. In view of the history of the time perhaps the most interesting of his Irish converts were William Parker, an Anabaptist preacher, and William Norris, 'an elder of the Baptists, captain of a company, justice of the peace, commissioner of the revenues, chief treasurer in that quarter (Belturbet?), and chief governor of three garrisons,' who in consequence was discharged from his command. In or about the year 1656 Edmundson and other Friends took farms in Co. Cavan from a Colonel Kempston, in order to enable them to put into practice their doctrine of non-payment of tithes; but in 1659, owing to some disagreement with their landlord, the colony removed to Mountmellick in Queen's Co., where a Quaker connexion is still kept up.

It was, however, in the year 1655 that the Quakers rose into prominence, and drew down upon themselves the attention of the Government, in consequence of which they were severely treated. Their resolute refusal to pay tithes, or to contribute towards the repairs of meeting-places or churches—'steeple-houses' as they contemptuously termed them—and their principle of declining to take oaths not unnaturally brought them into conflict with the civil power both before and after the Restoration; while their peculiar mode of addressing persons, their refusal to do 'hat-honour', their extravagant manner of preaching in the streets, and their interruptions in the meeting-places roused against them the ire of the ministers on the one hand, and of the mob on the other. Henry Cromwell has been blamed, with a certain amount of justice, for his severe persecution of them during the earlier years of his rule, yet it is only fair to hear his private opinion of them as expressed by him in a letter to Secretary Thurloe. 'I think their principles and practices are not very consistent with civil government, much less with the discipline of an army. Some think them to have no design, but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicity renders them to me the more dangerous.' If we adopt his standpoint there was

something to be said in favour of his attitude towards them on account of their refusal to fulfil certain obligations towards the State; but it is probable that he over-estimated their influence in the Army, and he was certainly wrong in believing that the simplicity of their dress and speech was intended to be a cloak for some sinister designs.[1]

Early in 1655 Dublin was visited by two Quakeresses, Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith, who published the 'testimony of truth' at St. Audoen's, and in a Baptist meeting, for which they were committed to Newgate by the Mayor. After their release they made their way to Cork, being the first members of the sect to visit that city, and also preached with success in other parts of the province of Munster.[2]

Later in the same year came Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, who visited Limerick and many towns in Co. Cork. On reaching Bandon they were well received by Edward Cook, a cornet of horse in the Protector's troop, who became a professed Quaker, and wrote a letter to Henry Cromwell in the usual epistolary style of that body. He was removed from his command by the latter, and on more than one occasion was roughly handled by the mob. The meetings held by Burrough and Howgil were attended by several army officers, Colonel Phair, Major Wallis, and others. At Kinsale their most interesting convert was Susannah, wife to Dr. Edward Worth. Major Hodden, the governor of that town, encouraged them to preach to the military, and wrote a strong but respectful letter in their favour to Henry Cromwell. However, the tour of these two preachers was brought to an abrupt conclusion by an order for their apprehension being issued to the High Sheriff of Cork on the 7th of February 1656. They were accordingly imprisoned, and conveyed to Dublin, where they were examined by the Lord Deputy and Council, and then banished the nation. Under Henry Cromwell only four others suffered banishment. On the 17th of the previous December a general order had been issued for the arrest of all Quakers, in consequence of which

[1] H. C. to Thurloe, *Thurloe*, iv, p. 508.
[2] Wight, p. 81 ff.

ninety-two were cast into prison in that and the following year, on many of whom heavy fines were imposed.[1]

The apprehension of the ringleaders had no effect on their converts, except to render them more resolute in their determination to spread the new light. They preached in every town in Co. Cork, entering the meeting-places and there endeavouring to speak to the people or to gainsay the minister, in consequence of which they often experienced very harsh treatment. Among other instances an affair that occurred at Kinsale deserves notice. At the close of the Sabbath service in the meeting-place a Quaker stood up to speak. Upon this the congregation made as if they would leave, but were met at the door by a sergeant and a file of musketeers with lighted matches, who forcibly compelled them to go back, the sergeant directing his men to fire on them if they refused. One of the soldiers actually flashed his pan, whereupon for their own safety the people took away their muskets without any violence, and delivered them to the civil magistrate, who subsequently restored them to their owners. One feels inclined to express surprise that the soldiers, who a moment before had made such a show of force, should have so meekly surrendered their weapons to civilians. Possibly the story was incorrectly related to Henry Cromwell. Major Hodden was blamed for the affair, as it was rumoured that he had given encouragement to that particular Quaker and that he had stationed the soldiers near the meeting-place, lest the people should molest him.[2]

About the commencement of March 1656 a Quakeress from the West of England, Barbara Blagdon, landed in Dublin, and had an interview with Henry Cromwell, in the course of which she warned him, as regards his dealings with the Quakers, to follow the counsel of Gamaliel in Acts v. She reported that he gave her a fair hearing, so that she perceived that he himself was not so hostile as was supposed, but that he had been stirred up to persecution by others. In the course of

[1] Wight, p. 84 ff ; *Sufferings*, pp. 99, 100, 123, 124 ; *Thurloe*, iv, p. 508 ; A/5, ff. 319, 359. Hodden's letter is in Lansd. MSS. 821, f. 68.
[2] H. C. to Thurloe, *Thurloe*, iv, p. 672.

her travels she came to Limerick, where she was seized and thrown into prison, and finally banished the realm by order of Colonel Ingoldsby, the military governor.[1]

In this latter city Quakerism speedily grew strong, especially in army circles. Meetings were usually held in the house of a Captain Robert Wilkinson, on the reality of whose religious professions opposite views were held, as some flocked to hear him gladly, while others described him as 'a man that had received some illuminations, but too much a stranger to that silent and humble waiting in the divine light, which would mortify the carnal will'. On one occasion, it is said, while he was preaching a strange Quaker stood up in the meeting and rebuked him saying, 'Serpent, be silent!', at which he was so affected that he never preached again, while towards the close of his life he became imbecile. Other meetings were held in the house of Captain Holmes. So powerful was the influence exercised by this sect in Limerick that in November 1656 the Council deemed it necessary to write to Colonel Ingoldsby, directing him to turn all Quakers (i.e. strange ones) out of the garrison, and to arrest any of the inhabitants who professed themselves to be such, and who disturbed the ministers and congregations. Armed with this authority, the existence of which he did not divulge, Ingoldsby issued a proclamation to the effect that no one of the inhabitants of Limerick should entertain strange Quakers or Papists a night in their houses without first acquainting him, on pain of being turned out of the city. In his dealings with these people he acted somewhat too harshly, though it must be admitted that in his twofold capacity of governor and army officer he met with much which he could not but take cognizance of. Several complaints were made against his administration, notably by John Perrot, who wrote from prison; and finally he was compelled in his own defence to write an account of his methods to Henry Cromwell. Those of the original inhabitants who had become Quakers, 'vipers bred in our bosoms' he terms them, he had permitted to meet quietly among themselves; but he had imprisoned and

[1] Wight, p. 98; *Sufferings*, p. 52.

subsequently banished any who reviled the ministers or disturbed the congregations. His main object was to prevent the entry of strange Quakers into the city, and the plan adopted by him with reference to such was, that as soon as they came in one gate he sent them out by the other, and had them escorted until they were conveyed beyond the liberties. He had cashiered by a court-martial the soldiers that were Quakers, not for being such, but for disobedience to their officers; and had been forced to employ corporal punishment in the case of a sergeant who had written him an abusive letter: while he had temporarily suspended an officer, Lieutenant Waller, who had resisted the soldiers who had been sent to break up a meeting that was being held at Captain Holmes's house.[1]

In other towns such as Waterford, Cashel, and Kilkenny, Quakerism flourished to a greater or less degree. In 1659 Ulster was visited by John Burnyeat, who landed at Donaghadee, and went on foot through a considerable part of that province, subsequently making his way to the south and west. In the same year a parcel of Quaker books was sent over from London, but was seized at the Custom House in Dublin. These were referred for examination to a committee of five 'priests', viz. Winter, Harrison, Chambers, Charnock, and Roberts, who found that they denounced the Government as anti-Christian, and the ministers as dumb dogs and hirelings, on which they recommended that they should be burnt. The persecution of the Quakers speedily died down, for during the years 1657–9 only nine persons suffered imprisonment.[2]

It has been already stated that between November 1655 and the close of that year at least fifteen Presbyterian ministers had been put on salary as a result of their deputation to Fleetwood and the Council in the preceding spring, in addition to the handful of 'Protestors' who had been similarly treated at an earlier date. Now many others began to come in on the same terms, with the result that the Civil List for 1656

[1] Wight, p. 86; A/30, f. 212; Lansd. MSS. 821, f. 127. Ingoldsby's letter is in Lansd. MSS. 822, f. 17.

[2] Wight, p. 106; *Sufferings*, pp. 116, 123; Bagwell, p. 364.

contains the names of forty-five men known to be Presbyterians who were then located in the two northern Precincts of Belfast and Derry. Consequently the Presbyterian Church in Ulster flourished and grew strong. The account of the visit paid to it in the summer of 1656 by a former minister of Killinchy, John Livingstone, presents us with a satisfactory picture of its progress. He states that he preached in several places, 'and was at a great meeting of their presbytery in the north, which was more like a synod; where were thirty or thirty-six ministers, and ruling elders from sixty or eighty parishes: and that presbytery was divided into three several committees, which met apart in three several parts of the country.' When in Dublin the Council offered him a cure in that city. He says himself that he declined the offer, but the Government must have believed that he would accept it, and took steps accordingly, for on the 25th of August 1656 an order was issued that John Leviston should preach in the Precinct of Dublin, at £200, while in two Civil Lists there occurs the entry 'Leviston during his aboad, £200'. Also in July the order was made that he should preach at St. Catherine's, this evidently being the city cure offered to him. In the above entries there is no confusion between him and James Levingston of Finglas, as the latter was not appointed until 1657.[1]

Some information can be obtained as to the methods by which these men were appointed. At one time the minister would request that he should be located at such a place; at another time the parishioners of a certain parish would send up a petition for him whom they named to be settled among them. Generally these petitions were referred to Winter and the committee of ministers at Dublin, on whose certificate the appointment was made by the Government. This evidently implied the personal attendance of the petitioner before that body in the metropolis, and it is clear that this procedure was adopted on account of the latent distrust of the Presbyterian ministers, and in order that an opportunity might be afforded of examining their principles and opinions

[1] A/2, f. 352; A/10, f. 137; A/20, f. 20; A/22, f. 10 a; Reid, ii, p. 305.

with the utmost care. This lengthy journey must have involved a considerable amount of expenditure, so it is gratifying to note that on one occasion—and probably on many others—a sum of £5 was granted to a minister to defray his travelling expenses back to the north.

That the Government was prepared to keep a watchful eye on the Presbyterian ministers, but that at the same time it was determined to deal with them with scrupulous fairness, is shown by the following incident. It had been reported that as far back as May 1654 William Semple had declared in the meeting-place at Ballykelly (Co. Derry) that that place was accursed through being the cause of the loss of so godly a minister as they formerly had, since which time they had gone astray like lost sheep; he further exhorted his congregation not to receive any minister sent by any King, State, Potentate, or Power, but only such a one as the parish should give a call to, and who should be approved of by the Presbytery. It was further alleged that he and others had engaged themselves in several sums of money for the maintenance of the minister whom the Presbytery should send, and that they had dispatched an agent to Scotland to obtain one to whom a yearly stipend of £80 would be guaranteed. At all this the minister of the place, Humphrey Leigh—who was no friend to the Presbyterians, as shown by a previous incident—was 'affronted and discouraged' in his preaching. As a result it was ordered on the 15th of December 1655 that Semple's salary should be suspended, and that he should forthwith appear before the Council Board. He did so, and must have been successful in clearing himself of the charges laid against him, for on the 31st of the following January he was dismissed from attending on the Board, the suspension was taken off his salary, and he was also granted £10 to pay for the expenses of his journey.[1]

For its part the Presbytery was not willing to countenance any disorderly conduct among its members. In September 1657 it was reported that during the time that divers peaceable persons were met together in the public meeting-place at

[1] A/1, ff. 360, 363; A/5, f. 317.

Derryaghy near Belfast to hear their minister, William Dix, who appears to have been an Anabaptist, Henry Livingstone came thither with three or four hundred men, who (after some reviling language) rushed in tumultuous manner into the assembly. One of these laid rude hands on Dix, who was then in the pulpit, with the object of pulling him down to make room for Livingstone. The intruders declared that they had the authority of the Presbytery for what they did, and this was admitted by Livingstone, who averred that he would do the same again, if occasion arose. These statements, however, were not borne out by the subsequent action of the Presbytery. A meeting of that body was summoned, which administered a sharp rebuke to him, while two ministers, Drisdaile and Hart, were deputed to lay a full account of the matter before Henry Cromwell. About two years previously Timothy Taylor had publicly opposed Dix's doctrines, at which the Anabaptist governor of Carrickfergus, Colonel Barrow, had taken umbrage, and testified his displeasure by absenting himself from meeting.[1]

Such outbursts as these were not considered of any importance, and were indeed only what might be expected when members of opposing theological parties came into contact with each other. But about the same time a grave danger threatened the Presbyterian Church, and bade fair to work havoc in its ranks. On various occasions the Government had issued commands with respect to the observance of certain days of fasting or thanksgiving; these, it appears, the northern ministers ignored. Matters came to a head when they refused to keep the 27th of February 1657, a day appointed for thanksgiving on account of the Protector's escape from assassination. Henry Cromwell and the Council wrote on the 24th of March to Colonel Arthur Hill and others, to Timothy Taylor, and to Thomas Vesey of Coleraine, directing them to forward to Dublin the names of all those on the Civil List (or otherwise) who had acted thus. On the following day Henry Cromwell wrote an account of this to

[1] A/30, f. 288; Cooper to H. C., *Thurloe*, vi, p. 563; Taylor to Harrison, *ibid.*, iii, p. 29.

his father, adding that the Presbyterians had kept a day of *humiliation* instead. For this latter statement there appears to be no other evidence, and it seems very unlikely that the ministers generally would have acted in such a stupidly irritating manner, though some of the more hot-headed brethren may have done so.[1]

Henry also wrote angrily to the Presbytery, directing them to send some of their ministers to appear before him and the Council, and explain their attitude. Hart and Greg were chosen for this task, and had a long interview with him, in which he upbraided them with ingratitude on account of their receiving stipends from the State. To this Greg replied that it was not worldly considerations, but a question of conscience, that caused them to act as they did, at which Henry's anger blazed up more fiercely. Finally, he dismissed them. According to Adair the matter did not end here; further attempts were made to render them more compliant, and had not the situation been changed by the death of Oliver Cromwell it is probable that matters would have turned out very seriously for the Ulster Presbyterians.[2]

Before passing on to deal with other questions, a few isolated incidents may be noted, trivial in themselves, yet serving to cast some light on various aspects of the administration of the period. Two charitable acts on the part of the Government are recorded. In February 1656 a sum of £20 was granted to Nathan, Thomas, Margaret, and Alice, children of Henry Tilson the deceased Bishop of Elphin, in consequence of a petition from them setting forth their great sufferings by reason of the rebellion, and their present indigent condition. On the 4th of June following a petition for relief was presented by Laura Chaplin, widow to that doughty member of the Church Militant, Andrew Chaplin, who shot Captain O'Grady in the thigh at the siege of Ballyalla Castle in Co. Clare. She stated that her husband had died on the 24th of April, leaving her the care of four small children in a very sad and disconsolate condition, and prayed that she might be allowed

[1] A/30, f. 250; *Thurloe*, vi, p. 143.
[2] Adair, p. 225.

his salary up to the 24th of June for her support; this was granted.[1]

In August 1656 Jeremiah Peisley set forth the sad condition of the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospital at Dublin for want of a powerful ministry. It is not apparent if he were one of the soldiers, or a minister who desired to preach to them. At any rate Wotton and other ministers were directed to see that due provision was made with respect to their spiritual welfare, and as some five months later Peisley was requested to ascertain which of the wounded soldiers had Bibles, and which had not, it is to be presumed that some steps were ultimately taken.[2]

There is one important question on which fuller information is desired. To what extent was witchcraft taken cognizance of by the Cromwellian Government in Ireland? It is said that under that régime in England more witches were tried and executed than at any other period. It must be admitted that in Ireland there were sufficient elements to set a witch-persecution on foot, though we lack the positive evidence that anything of the kind was attempted. The Ulster Scots, clergy and laity alike, must have been infected with the belief, as the most of them had come from Scotland at a time when the epidemic was raging at its height, principally through the mistaken zeal of James VI and I. One of their ministers, James Shaw of Carnmoney, was said to have been bewitched to death in 1670. Other preachers throughout the country were influenced by the same superstition. James Wood of Youghal appeared as a witness in the important trial of Florence Newton at Cork in 1661; while Increase Mather, after his return to New England from Magherafelt, became, together with his son Cotton, a most notorious witch-hunter. Bearing this in mind, it is a remarkable fact that the only witch-trial noticed by the present writer in the Commonwealth records ended in the acquittal of the accused. In September 1655 Marion Fisher had been tried and condemned at Carrickfergus for bewitching to death one Alexander Gilbert.

[1] A/2, ff. 7, 201; Dwyer's *Killaloe*, p. 200.
[2] A/11, ff. 134, 373.

It subsequently appeared by the examination of Sir James Barry that Gilbert had died from natural causes, and that the accused was often distracted, and especially so when she made her confession, so her execution was respited till the pleasure of the Council should be known; and a pardon was granted her in February 1657.[1]

By this time most of the churches in Dublin were filled, many of them being occupied by men of exemplary life and conspicuous talent. But the relative status of the two Cathedrals differed widely. St. Patrick's had sunk to the level of an ordinary meeting-place, and only one or two allusions to it are found. Christ Church. on the other hand, was the State church for the Commissioners and the Lord Deputy, and became in effect, though not in name, the Cathedral of the Independents. The greatest care was taken to provide a supply of suitable men to act as preachers there in addition to Dr. Thomas Harrison, who appears to have been permanently appointed as its minister. As well as making provision for the Sabbath work weekly lectures were also established by the Government. In July 1655 Fleetwood and the Council appointed a Monday lecture at 10 o'clock in the morning, and recommended that it should be carried out successively by Winter, Harrison, Patient, Brewster, Wotton, Briscoe, Mather, Partridge, and Charnock. There was also a Wednesday lecture, which in the above year was changed to Tuesday, on account of the Wednesday market; while a Thursday lecture is mentioned in February 1656. Here, too, were preached sermons on special occasions. The 8th of August 1656 was ordered to be kept as a day of thanksgiving for the victories of Dungan's Hill and Rathmines, at which Bishop Henry Jones was appointed to preach; while on the 23rd of October following, being the day appointed for the commemoration of the discovery of the plot to seize Dublin in 1641, Samuel Winter preached. Dr. Harrison also delivered here his *Topica Sacra*, and his sermon on the death of Oliver Cromwell, entitled *Threni Hibernici*; and doubtless there were many other occasions on which notable facts of history

[1] A/10, f. 276; Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft*, pp. 120, 156, 177.

affording opportunities for joy or sorrow were dealt with in a similar manner.[1]

In addition to the preachers a permanent reader was appointed at a salary of £30, his duties being to pray, and read the Psalms. From the Commonwealth Books a list of these can be recovered. Thomas Birdsall was appointed to this office in December 1655. He was subsequently sent to preach in the Barony of Newcastle, and was succeeded in 1658 by Josias Smith. At the close of 1659 the latter was sent to Co. Sligo, and was succeeded as reader by John Golborne, a student and graduate of T. C. D. He continued as such until June 1660, his successor being Thomas Kirke.[2]

As being the State church the Government undertook at the public expense such repairs as would have been paid in the case of an ordinary meeting-place by a locally levied cess. In January and August 1656 Thomas Hatton the 'saxturne' (who received a salary of £4 a year) was allowed for moneys disbursed by him for glazing windows, buying candles, &c. In November 1654 the Commissioner-General of Revenues and Stores was directed to consider by what ways and means the public meeting-place at Christ Church, or as much as was at present necessary, might from time to time be put in repair; while a sum of £190 was laid out on repairs between September 1657 and October 1659. Furthermore, the Government looked after such matters as the allotting of the pews. In 1655 Sir John Temple was given Mr. Thomas Sandford's seat, while Colonels Herbert and Markham were directed to dispose of the pews according to the directions given them from time to time by the Council. In the following December it was ordered that three seats, together with a back seat thereunto adjoining, which were then in the possession of Mrs. Hook, Mrs. Dobson, and Mrs. Kennedy, were to be allotted to the same three ladies, as well as to Mrs. Winter and Mrs. Henry Markham.[3]

Generally speaking, the ecclesiastical policy carried out by

[1] Lectures, A/5, ff. 202, 245, 358; Sermons, A/10, ff. 143, 146, 193.
[2] A/5, f. 322; A/25, ff. 49, 168, 237.
[3] Sexton's payments, A/1, f. 346; A/2, f. 351. Repairs, A/5, f. 41; 1c.8c. 140, f. 3. Pews, A/5, ff. 280, 282, 302.

Fleetwood during his stay in Ireland was continued after his departure by Henry Cromwell; ministers were sought from Ireland, England, and America, meeting-places were re-edified, preaching in the Irish language was kept up, and so on. But in one important respect a radical change took place, when an attempt was made to amalgamate the civil parishes so as that they might form conveniently sized parochial unions, on which the minister might be settled, and from the tithes of which he might derive his stipend. Hitherto he had been usually appointed to a town, a garrison, a vaguely defined district, or a barony, according to the number of the Protestants in any one particular place. The successive steps of this new movement must now be traced as far as our sources carry us.

Amongst the additional instructions sent by the Protector to the Irish Council on the 27th of March 1656 was one which directed the enlargement or reduction of each respective parish in Ireland (with the consent of the inhabitants) to such limit and bounds as might afford (when the same was planted) a competent yearly livelihood to the minister, and also that the same should be of such extent and circuit that the parishioners might with conveniency come to the meeting-place, while the said meeting-place should be erected in the most convenient part of the parish for that purpose.[1]

No immediate steps were taken, but at the close of the year, or possibly early in the next one, Major Rawdon wrote to his brother-in-law Lord Conway to acquaint him with the fact that the Council had ordered that tithes should be applied in kind, and parishes laid out conveniently by Commissioners. It was expected that livings would be filled by presentation, and Rawdon points out that Conway had the right of presentation to Lisburn (otherwise Blaris), adding the interesting information that 'Mr. Hamilton, who was presented to Blaris, is still alive, but doth not much look after it'. The name of James Hamilton, rector of Blaris, occurs in the list of clergy which was drawn up in 1647, so he had evidently continued in his parish, despite the many changes that had

[1] A/27, f. 52.

occurred, though the intrusion of the Anabaptist Andrew Wyke cannot have afforded him much encouragement or opportunity for parochial work.[1]

The first official step was taken in January 1657, when certain of the Council were directed to meet as a committee for the purpose of nominating fit persons out of each county in Ireland to be Commissioners for uniting and dividing parishes, while on Tuesday afternoons the Council was to be formed into a Grand Committee for the purpose of further consideration of the matter, as well as to see what powers and instructions should be given to those who should be appointed Commissioners. There appears to be no detailed account of their deliberations, but about a month later, on receipt of their report, it was ordered that ' where there is an orthodox minister settled by the State in any parish he should for the present receive the whole tithes and take the profits of the glebe-lands. If these do not amount to the maintenance which is already given by the State to that minister then so much as his salary was formerly should be supplied to him out of the Treasury of tithes until some other provision be made for him by union or otherwise.' The latter portion of this order was frequently acted upon in 1659–60. On the same day it was further ordered that the Committee should inquire into such customary duties in cities and market-towns as had formerly been payable to the incumbent settled therein.[2]

For the remainder of our information we are indebted to the valuable correspondence that passed between Rawdon and Lord Conway ; indeed were it not for this it would be almost impossible to write anything on the subject. In the middle of April the former stated that the Commission for dividing and annexing parishes would shortly be issued, and adds ' if your Lordship be disengaged handsomely we may perhaps get a minister here that the State will give an additional salary to more readily than a stranger '. Before the end of August it appears that Commissioners had been sent for the purpose

[1] Rawdon's letters are in *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, pp. 621, 628.
[2] A/10, ff. 265, 274, 275.

to every county in Ireland, their plan being so to mould parishes that they would afford a stipend of £80 or £100, and yet be of such size that no part would be more than three miles from the church. Rawdon had been busy with Sir John Clotworthy and the other Commissioners, and on the 27th of September was able to give a minute report as to the four unions effected in that part of the country in which he was most interested, namely, the extreme south of Co. Antrim. Lisburn was to have added to it Derryaghy, Lambeg, and part of Magheragall. Glenavy would have Camlin (Crumlin ?), Tullyrusk, and one-third of Ballinderry. To Aghalee church there would be added Aghagallon, and half or one-third of Ballinderry. A new church was to be built for Magheramesk, part of Magheragall, and part of Ballinderry. He adds that all the livings would be small, but that Lisburn would be worth about £100 a year.[1]

This new scheme for amalgamation was a most ambitious one, and from the scanty materials at our disposal it would appear that it was only put into practice in those places where the Protestant population was sufficiently numerous to enable it to be established on a secure working basis. Nevertheless it is clear that the system was intended to be set up in every part of Ireland, and no doubt this would have been finally accomplished had the Commonwealth Government been able to establish itself in perpetuity: yet there are indications that attempts were made to form unions even in remote parts of the country. In March 1657 a petition of Captain Oliver St. George with respect to the reparation of the meeting-place at Galbally (Co. Limerick, and Dio. Emly) was ordered to be referred to the Committee for uniting and dividing of parishes. That steps towards amalgamation were taken here is clear from the petition sent up by Devereux Spratt in 1660, in which he stated that for some years past he had been minister of Galbally, Ballinlondry, Ballingarry, Ballyscaddan, and Downe (Knocklong), *all lately united*, and had received his salary up to the 25th of March last, but as no returns of the unions of parishes in Co. Limerick had been

[1] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, pp. 633, 645, 648.

made as yet in Dr. Loftus's office he was consequently unable to have a warrant for receipt of tithes prepared therein. Again in April 1657, as the High Sheriff and Justices of Co. Kerry complained that they were unable to repair their churches through the poverty of the district, it was stated that assistance would be afforded them as soon as the business under consideration with respect to the uniting and dividing of parishes came to some result and conclusion.[1]

It is worthy of note that as early as January 1656, on receipt of a report from Dr. Worth and certain Justices of the Peace, the amalgamation of certain parishes in Co. Cork was contemplated. It is evident that this was quite distinct from the above, and must have been part of the peculiar treatment meted out to that county.[2]

It must have been in contemplation to carry out this new piece of ecclesiastical organization with the help of the Down Survey maps. In theory it was easy, but in actual working the minute division of the country on the lines adopted in south Antrim would have involved an immense amount of labour and would have created many problems. Presumably all the newly constituted parishes were to be organized on the Independent principle, while the Government would be the final court of appeal, and would reserve to itself the right of suspending or ejecting ministers who were proved to be unorthodox, scandalous, or disaffected. It is profitless to point out the flaws in the scheme, but had it succeeded in any shape or form it would have sounded the death-knell of Episcopacy in Ireland. With its inauguration the first chapter of the history of Henry Cromwell's administration may fitly be brought to a close.

[1] Galbally, A/11, f. 470; A/25, f. 264. Kerry, A/12, f. 347.
[2] A/5, f. 348.

CHAPTER VII

AFFAIRS UNDER HENRY CROMWELL, LORD DEPUTY AND LORD LIEUTENANT

The second part of Henry Cromwell's administrative career commences with his appointment as Lord Deputy in November 1657 in succession to Fleetwood. On his promotion to this office he assumed considerable state. An account was given in 1658 of 'his stately march to the church [Christ Church !], with maces borne on horseback, the Mayor of the city and all other persons of state attending him with great majesty; his sitting above in the church in a stately seat, his wife opposite to him inasmuch; the sumptuous chairs belonging to these seats, with colour and fringe, is not left out'. As Dr. Mahaffy rightly points out, when such ceremonies were in fashion the Puritan spirit must have been much diluted in Dublin. That Henry was not averse to the bright side of things is also shown by a letter of Vincent Gookin, who tells an amusing tale of his strutting in Parliament in a rich scarlet cloak and gloves, which he had got from his father, to the great satisfaction and delight of some, and the trouble of others. He was even styled 'a debauched, ungodly cavalier'; however true the substantive may have been there appears to be no justification for the two adjectives.[1]

Ministers were still sought for, and some came over from England, the most interesting of whom was Dr. Faithful Teate, the sometime temporary Provost of Trinity College. On being turned out for his Parliamentary sympathies he had made his way to England, and is found in 1649 as minister of the Cathedral Church of New Sarum. About the following year he went as minister to East Greenwich, and remained there for several years until he contemplated a return to Ireland

[1] Langley to Thurloe, *Thurloe*, vii, p. 335; Gookin's letter, *ibid.*, vi, p. 19; Mahaffy, p. 321.

on the especial invitation of Henry Cromwell. In June 1658 he applied for the customary grant of £50 towards defraying the expenses of transporting himself and his family out of England, but may have actually come over himself a little earlier, as he was appointed to preach at Drogheda at £200 a year as from the 25th of the preceding March. He was dead by the 12th of May 1660, as on that date a sum of money due to him as salary was ordered to be paid to Mary and Faithful, evidently his children, the latter of whom served as minister at St. Werburgh's for some little time.[1]

It was only to be expected that among the ministers who came over to Ireland from time to time there should be found persons whose presence was not desired by the Irish Government. Some of these, as can be imagined from the ecclesiastical state of the times, were men whose conduct and ability was not such as should render them capable of preaching the Gospel, while others may have been Episcopalian clergy who had been ejected in England or Ireland, and who, in the latter instance, may have deemed it a suitable opportunity to slip back into their livings in this country. Consequently in January 1657 (possibly, though not certainly, 1658 N. S.) Henry Cromwell and the Council issued a proclamation to the effect that 'divers persons who have been ejected in England, and disallowed in Scotland, for scandal or insufficiency have adventured without any allowance or lawful admittance to intrude themselves into some places in this nation, from whence if not timely prevented, may ensure the corrupting of the people in their judgments and conversations, and disaffecting them to the present Government and peace of this nation'. In accordance with this the Justices of the Peace in each county were directed, at the next General Sessions of the Peace or public assizes, to consider the premises, and on perusal of the lists of ministers and schoolmasters in their county to certify with respect to such of them as were not properly admitted. Comprehensive as this proclamation was yet it had not all the effect desired,

[1] A/22, f. 30; A/25, ff. 49, 223, 386; *Thurloe*, vii, pp, 144, 177; Urwick, p. 50; W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church*, ii, p. 546; *Journal Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, vol. l, p. 39.

for in October 1658 the Lord Deputy and Council wrote to Nye at Whitehall stating that as some undesirable persons had come over they had directed the Clerk of the Council to forward him a list of such ministers and schoolmasters as had been objected to of late in Ireland; this last having been done by the assembly of ministers at Dublin, to be hereafter dealt with. For his part Nye was to send to the Lord Deputy a list of such ministers and schoolmasters as had been objected to in England, or held unfit, so that each country might know the undesirables of the other.[1]

Among the appointments and changes made up to the middle of 1658 the following deserve notice. In January of that year a minister, John Shaw, appears settled in the Aran Islands off Galway, where there surely cannot have been many of his co-religionists. About the same time Robert Clarke, the 'great archbishop' of the Anabaptists in Galway, was removed from that city to Offerlane in Queen's Co., no doubt to the entire satisfaction of Reuben Esthorp and his congregation. In April Adam Waller petitioned to be restored to his living of Carne, Co. Wexford, and on the report of Winter and others it was ordered that he should enjoy his legal right as claimed by his patent of presentation from Charles I, and that the tithes of the parish should not for the future be disposed of: thus reversing the decision come to two years previously. In June five Presbyterian ministers were received into salary on the petition of John Drisdaile and Robert Cunningham, who testified that they were 'approved of for holiness of conversation and abilities to discharge the work of the Gospel in a good measure, and were also men of a peaceable disposition'. These five were: Anthony Shaw (Ballywalter), Michael Bruce (Killinchy), John Shaw (Machrichohell, perhaps Ahogill), James Fleming (Glenarm), and Robert Denner (Connor).[2]

An interesting series of events, resulting in a victory for the intruded minister over the legal rector, was brought to

[1] T. C. D. Library, press B. 5. 21; A/30, f. 327.

[2] A/25, f. 24; A/91, ff. 25, 107, 111. Denner is termed *Dewart* by Latimer, p. 130.

a conclusion at this time. In or after 1641 John Kerdiff or Cardiff—who presumably is to be identified with the Senior Fellow of Trinity College of that name—was appointed to the Rectory of Navan by the Bishop of Meath. Subsequently he must have either fled, or been ejected, for in the Civil List of 1656 the place was held by Richard Bourke or Burgh. But this man proved anything but satisfactory, as he was found to be ' a common haunter of ale-houses ', and had been seen by creditable persons ' shamefully overcome with drink as towards noon-day he passed through the streets of Dublin '. Consequently he was ejected for drunkenness by an order dated the 11th of May 1658 : it gives one rather a shock to learn of his death within three weeks after that date, as on the 2nd of June his widow, Lettis, applied for some relief. In order to supply their spiritual needs the inhabitants of Navan petitioned for Jonathan Edwards, a Doctor of Medicine, who had been physician in the Precinct of Trim ; and this was granted. But the vacancy was judged a suitable opportunity by the lawful rector, John Kerdiff, to urge his claim thereto, which he accordingly did. It was then found that he had been presented ' in the time of war wherein the Bishop of Meath was engaged against the Parliament ', so the Council thought fit to adhere to their order appointing Edwards ; this was dated July the 8th. What exactly happened as a sequel to this we shall probably never know ; but it is clear that Kerdiff made some vigorous attempt to re-possess himself of his parish, for a few days later the following abruptly worded entry appears : ' Mr. Kerdiff silenced, and Dr. Jonathan Edwards to officiate at Navan without let or hindrance of the said Mr. Kerdiff, vide order dated 8th of July in this book.' [1]

A curious entry with respect to the clergy in Co. Cork is to be found at this time. Some complaint, the substance of which is unrecorded, had been made to the Government by James Bruce in March 1658, on which Sir William Fenton and others were directed to examine what he suggested about

[1] A/15, f. 18 a ; A/20, f. 21 ; A/25, f. 50 ; A/91, ff. 26, 45, 102 ; 1c.8c. 128, f. 184

some ministers in that county, 'who, notwithstanding the subscribing some queries, and uttering some unbecoming prayers against the State, are since by friendship or otherwise, suffered to enjoy their livings'. This is an additional proof that at this date there was to be found in Co. Cork a considerable body of loyal Episcopalian clergy, many of whom had apparently managed to maintain their hold on their parishes, though no doubt their income must have been meagre, and their tenure precarious. What renders the statement more peculiar is, that James Bruce, who was the cause of drawing attention to these men, was himself a beneficed clergyman of Cloyne Diocese, and therefore should have been the last person to cause trouble to those of his brethren who were endeavouring to retain what they were legally and spiritually entitled to. It was evidently on account of this that in the following November, when the wives of the sequestered ministers presented the usual petition for the fifths, an order was issued that care should be taken to see 'which of the petitioners' husbands are living, and whether in the parishes whereout these fifths are allowed, and whether they are in any employment as schoolmasters or the like, and what other maintenance or livelihood they have'. Here the sources of information fail us, as in so many other instances, except that in the following April an order was given for payment to be made as usual, from which it is permissible to infer that no drastic action was taken agains the clergy.[1]

About the same time another complaint was sent from Co. Cork. In August 1658 Joseph Eyres, a minister in Cork city, wrote to Henry Cromwell stating that what the latter had suggested to some ministers at Cork 'concerning the obstructing the work of Christ, occasioned by some men of unsound principles and unsavoury practices in the ministerial employment, is a serious and sad truth, of which (to my great grief) for divers years I have had experience. Of which grand inconvenience, as an expedient, certain instructions came [to] some Justices of the Peace in the county, which

[1] A/14, ff. 31 a, 234; Brady, ii, p. 193.

proving ineffectual, it was humbly hinted and desired that some ministers might be added to the Justices as assessors and assistants. For ministers alone to be engaged in a work of that nature would bring too great an odium upon them. The practice in England is a good precedent. Though in that land they to whom such a commission is directed have power of ejection, yet I am persuaded it would be better that in this land they be restrained to information and representation. If the Justices have not power to examine upon oath, none will dare to inform, or very few, because the persons peccant are so very high in the esteem of many.' It was proposed that certain Justices and ministers should be associated as a committee of inquiry; accordingly he suggests certain men for both parties, amongst the latter being his father Edmund Eyres. One could wish that the writer had not written in such a cryptic manner, or that other documents of a similar nature were forthcoming, but from the above it seems likely that an attack was contemplated on the Episcopalian clergy that still remained in that county.[1]

The most important step taken with respect to ecclesiastical matters at this period was the summoning of an assembly of ministers at Dublin by Henry Cromwell in April 1658. It will be remembered that just a year previously a scheme had been set working whereby parishes in all parts of the country might be amalgamated into unions of convenient size, from the tithes of which each minister might derive his stipend. It would appear that this was not operating satisfactorily, for Henry Cromwell states that the whole question of maintenance had grown to a 'scurvy pass', and was being carried on 'in a mongrel way betwixt salary and tithes'. In addition, the revenue of the country was not sufficient at this time to pay all the salaries, from which it naturally followed that no fresh ministers could be invited over, though so badly were they needed that it was said that little more than a third part of the country was as yet supplied with them. It was therefore hoped that by putting those that were free to receive tithes in kind upon their tithes the pressure on the

[1] Lansd. MSS., 823, f. 91.

Treasury could be removed, the maintenance would be improved, and provision could be made for a much larger number of ministers. It was hinted that Henry's real object in summoning the ministers was to feel the pulse of the country and ascertain to what extent it was favourable to the government of himself and his father; but it is clear that his main purpose was to place the question of maintenance on a satisfactory basis, and as well to promote unity and Christian love between the various denominations. Accordingly, armed with more plenary powers as Lord Deputy, he wrote private letters direct from himself to about thirty representative ministers—seven or eight in each province—directing them to meet at Dublin on the 23rd of April, which they accordingly did.[1]

The assembly sat for a little over a month. The proceedings appear to have been opened by a speech from the Lord Deputy, in which he outlined the various questions, besides that of maintenance by tithes, which were to engage their attention, such as the conversion of the Roman Catholics, the suppression of heresy and profaneness, the due observance of the Sabbath, ordination, and ejection, and so on. In answer to this the ministers presented him with an address, in which they expressed their thankfulness to God for having made Henry Cromwell such a power for good in the land, especially with respect to his care for the due ordering of religion. This was signed by nineteen ministers, of whom four were Episcopalians, four Presbyterians, and three Independents, the denominations of the remainder being unknown.[2]

It is to be presumed that minutes of the proceedings were taken, but of these no trace remains; consequently we are forced, for the most part, to rely on chance allusions in order to form some idea of what was done by the assembled ministers. The question which was prominently before them, and was most calculated to provoke dissension was that with reference to the change from quarterly salaries to tithes, as

[1] *Thurloe*, vii, pp. 21, 101, 129; Adair, p. 223.
[2] Address printed in Reid ii, p. 500 from Lansd. MSS., 1228, f. 13.

many had objections, conscientious or otherwise, to receiving the latter, though the Presbyterian party and Dr. Worth were strongly in favour of such a method. It was rumoured that there had been great disagreement between the ministers, and that not only the Anabaptists, but even the soberest Independents had dissented to the most of the points debated on. This, however, was quite contrary to the truth. Three of the latter had declined the maintenance by tithes, but on all other points the assembled ministers had 'kept a good understanding, and mutual respect and tenderness one towards another'; while at the conclusion of the sitting they had presented Henry Cromwell with a 'large paper' containing their resolutions, which they said were mutually agreed to, and so parted, as they had met, in fraternal love and concord, though unavailing attempts had been made by persons in authority, probably Lord Chancellor Steele and his following of discontented Independents, to sow the seeds of discord among them.[1]

As this meeting was summoned by Henry Cromwell on his own initiative it is only to be expected that nothing would be recorded of it in the Council Books of the Commonwealth. To this there is one exception. The presence of the assembly in Dublin was judged a suitable opportunity for the revision of the lists of those on salary, especially with reference to the matter of searching for unlawful or unsatisfactory preachers, so on the 3rd of May the Lord Deputy and Council sent down a formal order to the assembly to revise the lists of the ministers and schoolmasters who were under a public maintenance, by the best ways and means to inquire into their lives and conversations (as well as concerning such as were negligent in the discharge of their duties), where they officiated, and how they might most advantageously be distributed so that each public place might have a competent number of auditors. In reply to this the ministers stated that they had revised the lists as requested, and added that in addition to such there were 'many envious ones crept into several parts of this nation, who being either unsound in judgment or

[1] *Thurloe*, vii, pp. 145, 153, 161.

disaffected in heart, endeavour to sow their tares and choke up the good seed '. They also requested the Council to renew their commands to the Justices in each county to expedite their report concerning all such persons as were not on salary and yet exercised the work of the ministry ; this evidently had reference to the proclamation of January 1657 (or 1658), referred to at the commencement of this chapter.

They then presented a list of thirty-one ministers on salary whom they judged to be suspected of scandal or insufficiency. The names are as follows :

Edward Price, John Crookshank, John Hunt, John Hickes (Kilkenny Precinct). Laurence Castle (Clonmel P.). James Knight, Robert Leigh (Limerick P.). John Chambers, Simon Rumney (Kerry P.). Henry Hethershall (Athlone P.). William Gillice, John Ker (Belturbet P.). William Moore, Andrew Law (Belfast P.). John Hall, *City of Cork*, John Coleman (Cork P.). Robert Browne, Gawen Forsith, William Lindsey, William Watson, Robert Young, Hugh Barclay, William Moore, Robert Brisbane, Archibald Glasgow (Derry P.). James Johnston, John Lang, Robert Clarke (Galway P.). Godfrey Daniel (Dublin P.). Ithell Walker (Wexford P.). Samuel Stephenson (Trim P.).

In addition they presented a few ministers as being inconveniently placed, and made suggestions as to the locations to which they might advantageously be removed. The returns were signed by Dr. T. Harrison and Claudius Gilbert.[1]

From the notes in the margin, as well as from entries in the Council Books, it appears that the majority of these ministers were ejected and had their salaries suspended, while some were moved to other locations, in a couple of instances on reduced stipends. Several of them were again tried for various misdemeanours a year after, while others were restored after suspension, no doubt on their profession of repentance, and figure in the latest list. In only one instance are we given the specific charges of misconduct. Edward Price of Freshford, the first-named above, was ejected because ' since he entered on the ministerial functions he hath

[1] A/91, ff. 38–44.

been addicted to unlawful games, quarrelling, and frequenting of inns at unseasonable hours, tending to the scandal of his profession and neglect of his pastoral duty'. A warrant of summons had been issued against him, which he not only failed to answer, but without pass or licence got on board a ship in Dublin harbour, and sailed for England or Wales.[1]

It can well be imagined that those ministers who gave in the names of their brother ministers as being in their opinion scandalous in life and insufficient in learning and godliness were putting themselves in the way of meeting trouble and annoyance, however conscientiously they may have performed an unpleasant duty, or however well justified their reports may have been. One clear instance of this is preserved in a letter from John Hart of Taboyne to the Lord Deputy, written within a fortnight from the close of the assembly. He states that in consequence of having reported many ministers as scandalous in that part of the country where he lived—nine names had been presented from Derry Precinct —he had brought upon himself the hatred of many wicked men 'whose tongues will be set on fire of hell to speak mischievous things, and things full of falsehood against me, which may readily be credited by some about your lordship'. Consequently he begs that if any charges are brought against him he may be permitted to answer them in person. Bearing in mind too what had been said by the ministers at their meeting about the 'envious ones' who had crept in, he adds some facts for the information of Henry Cromwell which are extremely interesting as showing the existence of a High Church party in Co. Donegal at that date. He says that the Presbyterians in the parish of Raphoe were subjected to great annoyance from 'a prelatical party in that parish who endeavour to hinder them in the exercise of their discipline; as when they by deacons collect the money for the poor at the church door they come and interrupt them by their church-wardens, yea and have proceeded thus far upon the Sabbath day to beat the Elders of the Church, and in other

[1] For Price see A/91, f. 55.

places the Scribes of the particular Elderships are bound over to the Assizes for the lawful exercise of discipline'; and pretty broadly hints that Dr. John Lesley, Bishop of Raphoe, was prime instigator of these unlawful proceedings.[1]

Satisfactory results followed from the deliberations of the assembled ministers, and it is now necessary to follow the course of these as far as possible. In the first place opinion in England was favourably impressed by what had been done, and this no doubt would have been instrumental in bringing about a large influx of ministers into Ireland, had the Commonwealth lasted sufficiently long. Early in June Dr. Worth had occasion to go to England, and during his stay there he wrote to Henry Cromwell, stating that he had been at Commencement at Cambridge and Act at Oxford, where he had the opportunity of conversing with men most eminent for piety and learning, to whom he had communicated a copy of the Lord Deputy's speech and the ministers' answer thereto. He said that these had been received with great satisfaction on account of the tendency towards union, and that the Presbyterians had declared that they could freely join with the Independents on the terms offered to the Deputy by the assembly at Dublin. He had been urged by the Heads of both Universities, as well as by the London ministers, to print these papers—it is not known if he ever did so—and was conscious of never having done so much public service as through them, because hitherto it had been thought that Henry Cromwell's proceedings in Ireland derived their origin from England. When Worth was about to start for England, Henry had given him a letter of recommendation to the Protector, in which he draws a vivid pen-portrait of the religious and political tendencies of the worthy divine: 'I find he is of the judgement of the associated ministers in England, and practiseth accordingly, for which he lies under a great prejudice with the prelatical and malignant party; he is full of moderation and tenderness towards those who differ from him; he is painful in his calling, and strives more to bring souls to Christ than to propagate his opinion.

[1] Lansd. MSS., 823, f. 57.

He is an excellent man in the pulpit, and of exemplary life and conversation: I dare not omit to say he doth affectionately love your Highness.'[1]

In accordance with the chief object for which the conference was summoned an attempt was made to place the method of maintenance on a more satisfactory basis than hitherto, and steps were taken immediately. On the 2nd of June Major Rawdon wrote to Lord Conway: 'The ministers are now settling to receive their tithes themselves, and not salaries. I am now called upon to assist Dr. (Dudley) Loftus and others commissioned to establish ministers in our county; and attend to it to prevent mistakes in our small parishes in Killultagh.' Two documents throw some light on the matter. The first is a list of payments for the half-year ending the 25th of December 1658; the second is a list of ministers' allowances drawn up in 1657, but with later corrections and additions which are contemporary with the foregoing. In these the names of some eighty ministers appear as receiving tithes instead of salaries. Of these forty-eight belong to the Precinct of Belfast, and eleven to Derry, nearly all of whom are Presbyterians. The remaining twenty-one are scattered over the country, Dublin accounting for six, while some Precincts had none. It is not certain if all those in Dublin remained on tithes, though in the following year other ministers in the country came in on like conditions. It is to be presumed that for the purpose of obtaining their tithes these eighty ministers were settled on 'united parishes', in accordance with the scheme drawn up by the Government in 1657. If this be so, these two lists throw considerable light on a very obscure question, and show that the union and division of parishes was not carried out to any appreciable extent in any province except Ulster.[2]

The placing of the ministers on tithes instead of direct salaries proved a great source of relief to a Treasury whose resources were straitened, and the results became apparent

[1] Worth's letter, Lansd. MSS., 823, f. 79. Letter of recommendation, *Thurloe*, vii, p. 162.

[2] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, p. 667. The lists are in A/22, f. 10 a, and A/25, f. 77.

almost immediately. The stipend-account had gradually risen as more ministers came over, or were accepted from those already in the country, until a sum of over £6,000 had to be allotted to ministers and schoolmasters for the quarter-year ending the 24th of March 1658. Out of this the Precinct of Belfast received £1,167, and Derry £710. The amount for the following quarter ending 24th of June (which was not paid until October !) was £5,700, of which Belfast received £550, and Derry £580; while for the quarter ending 29th of September 1659 a sum of four thousand odd was set aside, £365 being allotted to Belfast, and £467 to Derry. This shows the saving that was effected by ministers receiving tithes instead of State salaries.[1]

To deal with the new state of affairs that had arisen consequent on the change from salaries to tithes a fresh Committee, that for the Settling the Maintenance of Ministers, was called into existence. It first appears in November 1658, and was principally occupied with questions dealing with tithes. In February 1659 it reported that considerable sums of money were due from several persons for parochial tithes and glebes taken by them the preceding year, and suggested a method by which the money due might be recovered. At the same date it stated that the tithes of a certain parish which were settled on a minister in lieu of his former salary of £100 only amounted to £26. At another time the petition of parishioners that their minister might be settled on tithes was referred to it. It is also found examining the charges of misconduct that were brought against a minister; while on another occasion it reported several ministers for scandal in their lives.[2]

Though one of the questions debated at the conference was the conversion of the natives, presumably through the medium of the Irish language, yet little was done in this respect. In June 1658 Philemon Fitzsimons, who was then acting as schoolmaster at Cork, was ordered to proceed to Connaught to preach the Gospel in Irish, his location and salary there to

[1] A/25, ff. 29, 59, 178.
[2] A/1, f. 393; A/14, ff. 154, 168 a; A/25, f. 105; A/91, f. 76.

be determined by the Lord President of that province. If this order were ever executed his stay there was not of long duration, for he is found back in Cork in the following January. In Clonmel, however, some satisfactory results were obtained. Galatius Hickey, formerly a clergyman in the Diocese of Killaloe, had been appointed schoolmaster in that town in 1659 with the added duties of assisting the minister of the place, Samuel Ladyman, in reading the Scriptures, and of 'instructing the Irish natives upon the Lord's Day, and other convenient times, in the precepts of the Protestant religion'. It was reported at the same date that the Irish had recently been resorting to church in great numbers, and it appears that it was for this reason that Hickey had been appointed as being well qualified to instruct such. There was also a schoolmistress, Ann Peirson, who taught and catechized the children of the town in English. There do not appear to be any other allusions to the matter, so it would seem that the enthusiasm for the conversion of the Irish-speaking population was rapidly cooling, possibly because it was found very difficult.[1]

One undoubted result of the conference was the formation of the ministers of Dublin and Leinster into an Association. It has already been shown that as early as July 1655 some scattered churches in the south and east had associated themselves together, but of the results attained nothing is known. It is probable that it was not a success, and that, feeling the want of such a bond of union, and being stirred up to a sense of their spiritual needs by the Lord Deputy's exhortations, the ministers of the city of Dublin and province of Leinster agreed on the 22nd of February 1658 (evidently 1659 N. S.) to join together 'in order to their entering into and walking together in a brotherly association . . . for the furthering of a real and thorough reformation of persons, families, and congregations in all matters of religion'. The purpose and scope of this Association was given to the world in a rare little book printed in Dublin in 1659. On the title-page occurs

[1] Fitzsimons, A/14, f. 175; A/22, f. 13; A/91, f. 47. Hickey, A/25, f. 109; A/91, f. 115; Dwyer's *Killaloe*, p. 178.

the following : ' Such reforming churches as consist of persons sound in the faith, and of conversation becoming the Gospel, ought not to despise the union of each other, so far as may consist with their own principles respectively, though they walk not in all things according to the same rules of Church order.' Thus it was an attempt to establish a compromise between Presbyterians and Independents, and possibly such Episcopalians as had become ' ministers of the Gospel '.[1]

The general plan of this Association may be briefly outlined. In Church government it allowed three orders, viz. : (1) Pastors and Teachers : to preach the Gospel, to teach and exhort, and to administer the seals of the Covenant. (2) Ruling Elders : to join with the Pastors in governing the Church. (3) Deacons : to receive the Church treasury, and therewith to serve tables, and particularly to relieve the poor. In conducting Divine Service the members would ' have an eye to the substance, sense, and scope of the Directory ' ; while they were careful to insist on infant Baptism. They declared their abhorrence of Episcopacy, and determined to use the longer and shorter catechism of the Westminster Assembly, as well as its Confession, saving some points of discipline in the same. All questions about minor matters of difference should not be brought up for discussion. At their first general meeting they resolved to elect a Moderator, as well as a Registrar who should enter up the minutes of the proceedings. They would receive as members all brethren within the city and province who were duly called to the ministry by ordination, and were sound in the faith, they first tendering to the Moderator for the time being, at a general or particular meeting, a testimonial of soundness in faith from the hands of two ministers of known integrity. All that should be ordained presbyters by the Association for charges in the province should be received as members, while the right was reserved of admitting any orthodox godly brother who should declare his intention of being regularly ordained as soon as might be. The

[1] This book is in T. C. D. Library, classed P. gg. 32.

names of the ministers subscribing to the principles of this Association appear to have been attached to the original draft, but unfortunately are omitted from the printed copy.

An Association of Ministers in Co. Cork had been formed as early as 1656, and possibly earlier, though its existence at this date is only made known to us incidentally through a dispute that arose. In August of that year Justice John Cooke wrote from Mallow to Henry Cromwell stating that 'Mr. Worth, Mr. Stowell, Mr. Eyres and the rest of the classical Presbyterian ministers in the county have set up a weekly lecture at Cork, and have rejected and excluded Mr. Weld, Mr. Woods, Mr. Nicolett, Mr. Coleman, and all the rest of the congregations' ministers in this county, who are not ordained by bishops immediately or derivatively, which is a great grief to all the honest and well-affected people in these parts'. In his charge to the Grand Jury at Cork he desired all good people to decline all ways of sedition, and declared that it was an act of great boldness for any section of the ministers to make themselves a party, or to disown and vilify their brethren; all he said was only intended to promote unity and love between honest men. 'The next day I went to the lecture, where young Mr. [Joseph] Eyres took an occasion to speak of such as countenanced or pleaded for any ministers but those that were ordained by bishops, and what great enemies they were to religion, and did acknowledge, that there was no lawful call to the ministry but of those who derived through the Pope, but not from the Pope, with many bitter expressions against all that differ from him in doctrine or discipline; and so they intend to proceed weekly.' Accordingly he begs Cromwell to direct Worth and his party to allow the others to take their turn at the lecture.[1]

An examination of these names makes clear the extent to which the Low Church clergy had been forced by stress of circumstance to sink their Episcopal tendencies and become merged in other denominations. The 'Presbyterians' Worth and Stowell were respectively Dean of Cork and vicar of

[1] Cooke to H. C., *Thurloe*, v, p. 353.

Kinsale, at which latter place Stowell had acted as minister all through the Commonwealth régime, being settled by the Government in this capacity on his former vicarage. Joseph Eyres may or may not have been a Presbyterian, but he was son to a minister named Edmund Eyres, who appears nowhere as a 'minister of the Gospel', but is possibly to be identified with Edward Eyres who was Prebendary of Timoleague in 1630. On the other hand one of the 'Independents', Charles Nicolet, was at the time Prebendary of Lismore Cathedral, while Coleman may have been an Anabaptist.[1]

This Association made its object and purpose generally known by means of a little book, one of those rare locally-printed items so dear to the heart of the bibliophile, which was published in Cork in 1657 under the title *The Agreement and Resolution of Severall Associated Ministers in the County of Cork For the Ordaining of Ministers.* It appeared anonymously, but on the title-page of the copy in the National Library, Dublin, there is written in a contemporary hand (after 1660) the words 'By Worth Bp.', which places beyond doubt the question of authorship, on which otherwise a shrewd suspicion might be entertained.

The first few pages of this book are devoted to the general question of the distinction of the ministerial office, and the need of those who minister the Gospel being separated for that purpose by ordination, all being interlarded with copious scripture references. Then the particular question, viz. the need of ordaining ministers in Co. Cork, and the justification for the same, is dealt with, and we here give, somewhat briefly, the main points in the inimitable style and language of the original.

'The Gospel-ministers in Co. Cork are excited to ordain ministers:

(1) By Sense of Duty.

(2) By experience of divers sad consequents of non-ordination [viz. that those who thus intruded themselves had no learning; divided their congregations; caused religion to be

[1] Brady, i, p. 194; ii, p. 554. Cotton's *Fasti* s.v. Lismore.

despised; were seldom without errors in discipline and doctrine, etc.]. Many of these consequences (we believe) arise from the nature of unscriptural intrusion into the work of the ministry . . . which enforceth us to the discharge thereof in ordaining ministers.

More, than others.

That *we* herein *begin*, will be no temptation (we hope) of prejudice to any brethren, for (1) Some must begin. (2) England affords many precedents. (3) Of all, in this country, we apprehend the opportunity to associate is most, because the ministers are most and nearest; the necessity most, because the congregations are most and greatest.

More, than formerly.

That we rather engage in this duty *at present*, than *formerly*, hath these inducements. (1) The Protestant inhabitants were necessitated formerly to live in or nigh garrisons, and so might be supplied by such ordained ministers as God had there set: but at present they disperse themselves into the country; wherefore to attend them the increase of the number of ministers becomes necessary; and to that end (by God's institution) ordination is necessary. (2) Through the Lord's goodness, and the benign aspect of our Magistrates, Gospel-ministers are encouraged, and we find that both the harvest is great, and the labourers not so few as formerly who (in God's way) must either seek ordination from our brethren the Scots in Ulster, the inconveniences whereof (the present state of affairs considered) are too obvious to need our instances: or from our brethren in England. But (1) They may want means of support for such a journey. (2) Certificates from persons at a distance may possibly be counterfeited, or if true, discredited, because the subscribers are unknown.

More, than to other acts of discipline.

Neither do we think the procedure preposterous, to engage in the duty of ordination before other acts of ecclesiastical discipline, for (1) Herein we walk in the same methods, as the Westminster Assembly in their advice propounded. (2) Ordination of ministers properly belongs to ministers. (3) Ordination of ministers is a clear duty. (4) And necessary to the very being of the Church, while discipline is necessary to its well-being.'

The ministers conclude by exhorting their readers and flocks to study the Bible, and to pray for their pastors.

It is clear that between the Association in Leinster and that in Cork there were fundamental differences. The object of the former was to provide a common theological basis on which ministers of different denominations might meet, and agree, though it would seem that each party was left free to follow its own system of church discipline and organization. The question of ordination was deemed to be of the utmost importance, but the Association also considered that great spiritual advantage would accrue from mutual co-operation. On the other hand the Cork Association was entirely concerned with ordination, and it would appear from the statements made by Joseph Eyres in his sermon that this could only be done by presbyters who had received their Orders through Episcopacy or Presbyterianism. It may be that these differences arose from special circumstances governing each case, and were more accidental than intentional. In Leinster, with so many ministers in and around Dublin, there can never have been any difficulty about ordinations; in the large county of Cork, with the exodus of the people from garrisons to the surrounding country there must have been many congregations formed in localities where none had existed previously. That this is true for at least the northern half of the county is proved by the decision come to by Justices of the Peace in January 1656, namely that eight meeting-places above the Blackwater, viz. Newmarket, Ballyclogh, Shandrum, Mallow, Doneraile, Castletown, Mitchelstown, and Kilworth, should be re-edified for their use. Consequently there was an urgent need for ministers to satisfy the spiritual wants of these flocks, and it is possible that the latter preferred men who had something of the nature of Episcopal orders.[1]

That Associations were set up in other parts of Ireland is probable, though we lack the positive evidence, as several of the ministers who came over, such as William Keyes and Reuben Esthorp, had been members of such in England. The attempts made, however, by Edward Wale to promote unity at Waterford are worthy of being placed on record, though it would appear that his object was, not so much to

[1] Rebuilding of meeting-places in A/5, f. 348.

establish an Association, as to reconcile the laity of different denominations.

Wale had been one of the ministers summoned to the Dublin conference, and, some months after his return to his pastoral charge at Waterford, gave a most interesting account of his work there, as well as of the state of religion in that city. It is known from other sources that both the Independents and the Anabaptists were to be found there in considerable numbers. His letter to Henry Cromwell furnishes us with a unique description of the methods by which a ' minister of the Gospel ' endeavoured to promote true godliness among the members of the various bodies that were to be found within the bounds of his sphere of activity. He writes as follows :

' Having preached for some time in this place, not altogether without fruit, I thought it my duty to draw such Christians as were knowing and blameless to partake in the Lord's Supper and other ordinances of Christ, as well as in hearing the Word. This practice I continued for some years : but seeing the slackness of the people to seek communion with us (some thinking the way we were in to be too strict, others too loose, and others mistaking my intentions and purposes) I have seen it my duty to exhort them to communion, and to press their baptism as an engagement upon them to seek after the sealing ordinances. And I have declared to them that none shall be refused that shall be found qualified according to what is written in this paper which here I send enclosed to your Excellency. For as I would not shut out any the least of Christ's members from their just privileges; so I would not encourage any loose or profane person to take what is none of his, to the dishonour of Christ, and his own hurt. I know that as well overmuch strictness which disheartenеth the weak, as a poor and dead formality which offendeth the strong, are displeasing to Jesus Christ. I have also set upon the work of catechising publicly on the week-day, and the people come and bring their children in some competent number.'

The paper of necessary qualifications which he enclosed runs thus :

' After my exhorting the people to seek after God, I have told them, that none should be refused :

(1) That can and will profess these things as in the presence of God, viz.:

That his heart is drawn off from sin and the creature to seek his rest and satisfaction in Christ alone.

And that he loves God's name, His word, His ordinances, His ways, His people, and those most that are most holy and strict in their lives.

And that he unfeignedly desireth to be under the watchful care of God's ministers and people, and to be exhorted by them and helped on in godliness.

(2) In whom these things are really found, viz.:

That he hath a competent knowledge.

And that he is a frequenter of religious exercises in public and private.

And that he hath set up the worship of God in his family.

And that he instructs his children himself, and brings them to be catechised, if he have any.

And that he is a strict observer of the Lord's Day.

And that he is free from (at least gross) error in his judgment, and from scandal in his life.

And that he submit himself to Christian discipline.

And that he will renew his covenant with God in the presence of His people.' [1]

An instance of an attempt of three of the Dublin clergy to regain, or continue in, possession of their parishes is now met with, and is a sequel to what occurred three years previously. The nature of the action taken by these men, or the preliminary steps leading up to it, is not known, for we are plunged at once *in medias res* by an order of the 15th of December 1658, forbidding Carr (or Kerr) to preach at St. John's 'because he hath not any legal title to the place, nor hath passed any trial as to his ability and other qualifications for that duty, nor hath received any allowance or approbation from the Board'. It was added that if, after his removal, he thought fit to apply himself to the Board for trial care would be taken to settle him somewhere on salary. A similar order was issued for Thomas Seele of St. Nicholas', and William Pilsworth of St. Michael's. Carr and Pilsworth immediately petitioned against this, but to no avail, for the Council refused to recede from its former order. It is possible to essay some explanation

[1] Lansd. MSS., 823, f. 134.

of the foregoing. As already noted, Pilsworth had held St. Michael's in 1654, and as it does not appear to have been filled since the incident of November 1655 it is reasonable to infer that he had continued to hold it from that date, and that the above order was due to the fact that the Council had determined to oust him in favour of Claudius Gilbert, who was to be removed thither from Limerick. With regard to St. John's that church was to be filled by the removal of Edward Baines from St. Patrick's from the 19th of December; and it may be that Carr took the opportunity of the vacancy to press his claim as having been there in 1651 and 1652. There does not appear to be any such reason for Seele's holding St. Nicholas', as it had been occupied by Winter and Samuel Mather for several years.[1]

It will be noticed that these three clergymen were partly objected to on the grounds that they had no 'legal titles' to the parishes. It is evident that the Council is here alluding to the question of the appointment of Carr to St. John's, and of Seele to *St. Michan's*, in 1651. By what method or authority these were made is not known, as the period is a very obscure one, but it is possible that light is thrown on them by the manner of Lightburne's appointment to St. Audoen's in the same year. He was elected by the people and churchwardens, and if these three were appointed in any such manner the Government had no option but to declare their titles invalid. That it was not a persecution of Episcopalians as such is shown by the fact that they would be taken on as ministers if they so desired.

In the first quarter of 1659 a purge of undesirable preachers took place. In the preceding October the Committee for Maintenance of Ministers reported adversely on certain ministers as follows:

William Lindsey	Faughan	Scandalous by drunkenness.
William Watson	Stranorlar	An enemy to piety, and negligent in his calling.

[1] A/15, ff. 66, 66a; A/22, f. 10a; A/91, ff. 67, 68, 69, 72; Lansd. MSS., 823, f. 177; *Par. Reg. Soc.*, iv, p. 22.

Robert Young	Clonca	Scandalous by drunkenness, and negligent in his calling.
Hugh Barclay	Lifford	A swearer, and negligent in his calling.
William Moore	Errigal-Keeroge	Scandalous by drunkenness, and negligent in his calling.
Gawen Forsyth	(Ballymackelly)	Of ill fame for drunkenness, for which he was cast out of his ministry in Scotland.
Archibald Glasgoe	(Faughanvale)	———
John Ker	Monaghan	Scandal and insufficiency.
William Gillice	Kildallan	ditto.
Henry Hethershall	Dromahaire	Scandalous by evil company-keeping.
John Lang	(Ballymoate)	Reported scandalous.

The procedure adopted was as follows: Certain specified Justices of the Peace were empowered to call before them and examine on oath such persons as were willing to give evidence on the matter of scandal, a brief of the charges being furnished to the accused. If no scandal appeared, but only insufficiency, the Justices were directed to summon to their assistance in the matter certain named ministers, and then to furnish a report to the Council.[1]

While the Conference of ministers was sitting at Dublin a project was afoot which was destined to have far-reaching effects on the Church of Ireland. This was the coming of Dr. Jeremy Taylor to Lord Conway's seat at Portmore on the shores of Lough Neagh. It appears that Lord Conway had invited him over, partly for the sake of affording him relief in his indigent condition, and partly for the spiritual benefit of the people in and around Portmore, who were no doubt weary of the ministrations of Wyke and other ministers. Taylor's exact position and duties there are a matter of uncertainty. In a letter to Evelyn of the 12th of May 1658 he says that he disliked the idea of being a lecturer under the disposal of another, and did not wish 'to serve in my semicircle, where a Presbyterian and myself shall be like Castor

[1] A/1, ff. 393–6.

and Pollux, the one up, the other down'. His biographer Heber accordingly believes that he held a weekly lectureship at Lisburn, where Andrew Wyke officiated. Wanting positive evidence to the contrary, the present writer is rather inclined to think that Taylor occupied the position of private chaplain to the Conway family, and ministered to the inhabitants and dependants at Portmore. Indeed, at the time he wrote to Evelyn, Taylor seems to have entirely misconceived the conditions under which he was to come to Ireland. He says that the stipend was so inconsiderable that it would not pay the removal expenses of himself and his family: on the other hand Rawdon wrote to his brother-in-law stating that he had heard that the latter had assured Dr. Taylor £200 a year for his own and his children's lives, and believing that this settlement would be secure and satisfactory. Taylor further urged the following objections to his appointment. 'The triers may overthrow it; or the vicar forbid it, or the subscribers may die, or grow weary, or poor, or be absent.' The last clause is sufficiently reputed in the previous sentence; while it is highly improbable that he was brought before the Committee for Approbation of Ministers, or that the rector of the parish (James Hamilton) would have any say at all in the matter, while for Wyke's opinion Rawdon and Conway can have cared very little.[1]

Jeremy Taylor appears to have arrived in Ireland some time in June. The prospect of his coming over was known to the ministers assembled at the Conference, and was greatly disliked by them; and their feelings on the matter were communicated by Dr. Thomas Harrison to Major Rawdon. The latter accordingly wrote to Lord Conway to warn him that if Taylor came he should take care to be well provided with a pass, or some other security, from Oliver Cromwell. Conway replied that the Protector had given him a pass and protection under his own sign manual and privy signet, while several letters had been written in his favour by eminent persons, notably by Dr. William Petty, of Down Survey fame, who had promised to assist him in making an advan-

[1] Heber, i, p. 130; *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, p. 665.

tageous purchase of land. Armed with these he had no hesitation or difficulty in going to Portmore and its beautiful scenery, where he devoted his spare time to literary work, and preached excellent sermons.[1]

But his peaceful solitude was rudely disturbed after about a year, and it may be that this was indirectly due to the action of Major Rawdon. In May 1658 the latter had taken all the land from Andrew Wyke, and withheld the tithes, petitioning that these might be appropriated for the purpose of founding a free school at Lisburn. On learning of this Wyke presented his case to the Lord Chief Baron, but without success, upon which he determined to leave his charge at Lisburn; he was thereupon appointed on the 13th of October to the united parishes of Donaghcloney and Tullylish at £100 a year. His place was filled by a certain Philip Tandy, who came from England, and was appointed to Lisburn in September; he is evidently to be identified with the person of that name who had first been an Episcopalian, then a Seventh-Day Baptist.[2]

At first Tandy was popular in the parish, and was held to be a 'rare' preacher. Subsequently feeling turned against him, for Henry Hyrne, Lord Conway's agent or bailiff, wrote to his master, 'I do not quite like Mr. Tandy, and I hope you will get Dr. Taylor's opinion on him before you grant him what I hear he desires in his letter.' It may be that the advice tendered on this occasion by Jeremy Taylor was the means of causing the flames of jealousy, for some time smouldering, to burst forth, for in June 1659 Tandy reported him to the Council on various charges, the principal one being that he had used the sign of the cross in baptizing a child. Conway was greatly incensed at this, and ordered Hyrne to see that all legal expenses were paid in connexion with the matter so that Taylor might be at no pecuniary loss. In the following August the Governor of Carrickfergus was directed to send Dr. Taylor in custody to Dublin to answer

[1] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, p. 667; *Rawdon Papers*, p. 188.

[2] *S. P. I.* (as before); A/22, f. 13 a. For Tandy see A/22, f. 31; A/25, f. 58; Brook's *Puritans*, iii, p. 30. After the Restoration he seems to have remained as a dependant in Conway's household. See *Rawdon Papers*, pp. 207, 416.

the charges brought against him, but it would appear that he was not sent till mid-winter, for he fell ill as a result of travelling in severe weather. However, he escaped scot-free, owing to the departure of the Commissioners of Parliament, and returned to Portmore for some little time.[1]

It has been assumed that it was the Presbyterians who were instrumental in bringing these charges against Taylor. The sole evidence for this is Taylor's description of Tandy as a ' Presbyterian and a madman ', if indeed this does not refer to two distinct persons ; though Conway's letter implies that Tandy alone was to blame. He had already made trial of two religious denominations, and may possibly have adopted a third after his arrival in Ulster ; but, supposing this to have been the case, it would not be fair to blame the whole body for the action of an eccentric member. To the writer it would seem that Tandy had brought a most incriminating accusation against Taylor at a time when it would be most readily listened to by the Heads of Government in Ireland, partly through jealousy at the latter being preferred to him, and partly because he was egged on thereto by his Anabaptist neighbour, Andrew Wyke, who cannot have been very friendly disposed towards Rawdon and his family, and so may have used Tandy as a means of venting his spleen against them.

With reference to the charge brought against Taylor it is interesting to note that in the same year, and almost in the same month, judgement for a similar offence was given against a minister, a near neighbour of Taylor's, Diggory Holman of Magheralin. He was sentenced in September to be discharged from officiating because some time previously he had baptized several children with the sign of the cross, and, when making use of the Service Book on that occasion, declared that he would account it a sin to mix any prayers of his own with the Book of Common Prayer.

This was the head and front of his offending, and quite sufficient in itself to procure his condemnation. Additional

[1] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. I*), iii, pp. 673, 685 ; *Rawdon Papers*, p. 196 ; Heber, i, pp. 142, 151 ; A/17, f. 38.

charges were brought against him, and these were so extraordinary that they are worthy of reproduction. When at the wedding of one Captain Manson he was the worse for drink, and pointing at a woman asked what she was. A bystander replied that she was a woman *enceinte*, whereupon Holman replied that she would be the mother of pigs, adding that he himself had been amongst hogs and swine. On one occasion it was reported that he was so drunk that when endeavouring to make his way home he fell over a bridge with as much force as if it had been the fall of a tree. At another time he had been in the company of some drunken men on a fair day, who drew their swords and ran upon the Watch. He had called a person a ' few ' (northern for ' fool ' !) for scrupling to sell him tobacco on the Lord's Day. When in Mr. Brady's house where several were drinking he offered to fight one Tippin for twenty shillings, and pulled a man named Howard out of his seat, averring that he saw the Devil in him. At another time he met some men who were engaged in surveying a road, and said that they were devils who surveyed the way last year, but that they were worse that surveyed it now. It appears that at an earlier stage in his career Holman had been a royalist trooper, and on learning that Charles II would come to England, and that a party would be formed to support him in Ireland, he declared his intention of rejoining a troop.[1]

How far these accusations were true it is impossible to say. Drunkenness was a charge as easy to make as it was difficult to disprove, though in this particular instance it appears to have been well-founded. But an interesting question arises. Who was Diggory Holman ? No such name appears in any of the Commonwealth lists, so it may be presumed that he was an Episcopalian clergyman, of decidedly royalist tendencies, whose presence at Magheralin the Government had ignored, and would have continued to do so, but for the unpardonable offence he had committed.

While these events were occurring far-reaching charges were taking place in the wider sphere of English History.

[1] A/16, ff. 49a–51.

Oliver Cromwell died on the 3rd of September 1658, and was succeeded by his son Richard. On October the 6th the latter made his brother Henry Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But the power did not remain in Richard's hands for very long. His first Parliament only sat from the 27th of January to the 22nd of April, when it was dissolved, its place being taken a fortnight later by the restored Rump, and with this the Protectorate came to an end. On the 7th of June the House resolved that Henry Cromwell should be recalled, and the Government of Ireland handed over to five Commissioners; Henry got wind of this contemplated change, and resigned before he had received formal notice. During the years of his rule the principles of ecclesiastical organization had made a considerable advance towards completeness; indeed a foundation had been well laid, but the whirligig of Time prevented the erection of a structure thereon to any appreciable extent. In his administration he was much more firm than Fleetwood, and refused to give the Episcopalians any encouragement in the performance of acts, or the adoption of a position, which he deemed illegal. It cannot be said that his rigour took the form of persecution; an Independent by conviction, he endeavoured to act with scrupulous impartiality towards all the different religious bodies, and if in his treatment of the Quakers he acted too harshly yet this arose from his mistaken view of their strength and importance. That he had a genuine desire to promote religion and to allay sectarian bitterness is shown by the steps taken by him in 1658 when his promotion to the rank of Lord Deputy afforded him more freedom for the accomplishment of his designs.

With the Commissioners came Edmund Ludlow to command the Irish Army; he landed in Dublin about the end of July. One of his first actions was to reform the army, and he and the Commissioners also deemed it necessary to dispossess several of the ministers; this we know from the statement of one of them, George Munday of Castle Jordan. It is extremely significant that the orders for the arrest of Jeremy Taylor and the suspension of Diggory Holman, in both instances for the same offence, were issued immediately after

Ludlow's arrival, which would tend to show that a 'purge' was contemplated of ministers who were openly opposed to Anabaptism, or that at least any accusations against such would be eagerly listened to. This seems to be borne out by another order to Dr. Loftus to deliver all certificates in his possession attesting the ability of ministers, as well as the documents dealing with their settlement on tithes or otherwise, to the Secretary of the Council.[1]

With regard to the offence committed by one of the ministers who was ejected at this time we have full particulars. Heritage Badcock, minister of Kilcullen, had endeavoured to discourage some soldiers who were about to go into England to suppress the abortive rising under Sir George Booth, 'advising them to have a care of their consciences; and alleging in the presence of some of the said soldiers that if the party to whom he spake had been as lately in England as he was he could not say that they (meaning the rebels) were inconsiderable. That rebellion is no rebellion if it prosper. That all the Custom Houses in England (for aught he and the rest of that company knew) were in the rebels' hands. That the rebels declared for the Old Parliament, and only such as sat after the King was put to death. And that it would be a great dispute whether those that were put out before the King's death were not the Parliament. And that he is an enemy to all gathered churches.' He was arrested for these ill-timed expressions, and was then suspended by an order of the 30th of August, though his salary was to be paid him till the next quarter-day, when it was to cease. His place at Kilcullen was taken by a New England minister, William Aspinall.[2]

Action was also taken with respect to the Provost of Trinity College. In the middle of August 1659 he was ordered by Parliament to come over from Ireland and attend the pleasure of the House. This he apparently disregarded, for in the end of the following November he was appointed English Divinity Lecturer, and signs as Provost. However,

[1] Munday's statement, A/25, f. 328; order to Loftus, A/17, f. 82.
[2] A/17, f. 38; A/25, f. 195; A/91, f. 173.

on March the 29th, 1660, he was ordered to deliver up the original charter of the College; his last act in connexion with the institution was to remit Commencement Fees on the 29th of April.[1]

Appointments of ministers to various locations were made down to the end of the Usurpation. The Fifth-Monarchist, John Rogers, contemplated a return to Ireland in July, and received £50 for his transit, but the matter fell through. Among the last orders made by the Commissioners prior to their departure were two on the 9th of December, directing that the 'evil practice and custom' of keeping Christmas holidays should cease, and that Edmund Burke should be continued as minister at Ballybrett, on account of the good success attached to his preaching there among the Irish.[2]

A few days later the whole situation was changed, and a series of strokes and counter-strokes occurred, which terminated in the restoration of the Monarchy, and the consequent re-establishment of Episcopacy in Ireland. With the return of the old order, and with the passing away of the ecclesiastical system devised by the Commonwealth, the concluding chapter will deal.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VII

Jeremy Taylor

Since writing the foregoing I have read Mr. Edmund Gosse's life of Jeremy Taylor (in *English Men of Letters* Series), which in some points stands in need of correction and criticism. On page 148 he writes 'Lisburn, or as it was then called, Lismagarry, where there seems to have existed a collegiate church, in which the vicar taught divinity. This incumbent was a Presbyterian (or rather what was styled an Independent), but part of his fees, it would appear, were paid by Lord Conway and other subscribers, who therefore felt at liberty to exercise some pressure upon him. His name was Andrew Weeke.' This passage calls for several comments. In the first place Lisnegarvy, not Lismagarry, was the older form

[1] *Clarke Papers*, iv, p. 43; Mahaffy, p. 305.

[2] *Rogers's Life*, pp. 322–4; *S. P. Dom.* xiii, p. 35. For Burke see A/17, f. 92; A/91, f. 192.

of Lisburn. The statement about the collegiate church in that town seems to be unsupported by any evidence except the rather vague language of Heber. Andrew Wyke (more correctly) was an Anabaptist, and therefore was not 'a Presbyterian (or rather what was styled an Independent)', which would have been a curious blending of denominations fundamentally opposed to each other. It is clear from the Commonwealth Books that Wyke's salary was always paid by the State, even when he was placed in a united parish, and so Conway and his friends never contributed anything towards his income. Nor was he 'vicar'; most probably he would have indignantly repudiated such a title.

On page 149 Mr. Gosse writes: 'In May 1658 he [Conway] wrote to propose that the divine [Taylor] should accept the position of assistant lecturer at Lisburn . . . unwelcome to Taylor.' This passage is based on Taylor's letter to Evelyn of May 12, 1658 (Heber, I, p. 129), and, as we have already shown, he entirely misconceived the conditions under which he was to come to Ireland.

On page 151 Mr. Gosse says, 'Very important, too, was the protection of Dr. Thomas Harrison . . . the minister of a dissenting chapel in Dublin . . . who in 1657 went over rather ostentatiously to Henry Cromwell's party.' It is shown by the *Rawdon Papers* that Petty had written in Taylor's favour to Harrison, but it would appear from Major Rawdon's letters to Conway that Harrison was at one with the assembly of ministers (where he had been present) in their objection to Taylor. Furthermore, the 'dissenting chapel in Dublin' was no less a place than Christ Church Cathedral, which was at the time the most important place of worship in Ireland. As Harrison was in Dublin in July 1655 it is clear that the above date is incorrect, and rests on an inaccuracy in Harrison's Life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

On page 156 ff. Mr. Gosse assumes that the Presbyterians showed their animosity to Taylor in 1659. There is no evidence to indicate that this body had anything to do with the complaint made about the use of the sign of the cross, except Taylor's vague allusion to 'a Presbyterian and a madman', which seems to be a description of Philip Tandy alone. And surely Taylor was only arrested, and carried to Dublin, *once*, not twice!

CHAPTER VIII

THE RETURN OF THE OLD ORDER

In January 1660 Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and Major William Bury, 'a religious, prudent gentleman,' were appointed Commissioners for Government and Management of Affairs in Ireland. As the Irish Parliament had been legally dissolved it was resolved, in lieu thereof, to summon a Convention, which accordingly met in Dublin on the 7th of February, Sir James Barry being chosen chairman. This assembly was for the most part composed of men who were in favour of Episcopacy, and who had adhered to the King, although a minority was inclined to Presbyterianism. At first indeed, until the King's mind was known, all seemed to favour that Church system. A prominent Dublin Presbyterian, Samuel Cox, minister of St. Catherine's, was appointed Chaplain to the Convention, and opened the meeting each day with prayer. A general fast was proclaimed, and kept very solemnly in Christ Church, at which all the members were present, the service being conducted by four ministers. Immediately after the opening of the Convention eight ministers were summoned to Dublin, two from each province, to assist that body in all questions relative to the payment and settlement of preachers, and so on, and in regard to such matters to act as advisors to a committee of the Convention which had been appointed to consider matters of religion. The names of none of these eight are known, with the exception of Patrick Adair, though it is probable that Thomas Vesey was another; while from an entry on f. 239 of A/25 it would seem that S. Cox and Stephen Charnock were included for Leinster. Some few traces of their work are recorded. In April they had to decide whether Curray or Underwood should officiate at Naas, as well as 'to inform themselves of their abilities, and whether they be in Orders, and do administer

the Sacraments'; and in the following month they had to settle which of two ministers should be established at Dromore, Co. Donegal, each being desired by a section of the parishioners. Though the Convention adjourned on the 28th of May, yet this committee of ministers continued sitting and acting, as in the middle of July it was directed to certify with respect to the fitness and abilities of Edmund Weld, a preacher of several years' standing.[1]

Adair states that the ecclesiastical authority rested in the hands, not of the Convention, but of the three Commissioners, and his statement is borne out by the documents, though it must have been within the power of the former body to give or withhold its sanction to any orders made with respect to the payment of ministers, or any money questions of a similar nature that might arise.

On the 7th of May the Commissioners put out the following general rules for the guidance of the eight ministers in making their choice of suitable preachers:

'Whereas in the accomplishment inasmuch as in us lies of these religious and just ends nothing appeareth more probably conducing thereto than that the respective parishes in this kingdom have ministers settled in them who are learned, pious, orthodox, sober, and ordained, we do therefore desire and expect that from time to time every minister of the Gospel that shall be certified as fit to be settled minister of any parish in this kingdom be such and no other than a learned *etc.* minister.

That he will accept of a parochial charge.

That he will baptize the children of all such in his parish as profess faith in Christ, and obedience to Him.

That he will administer the Lord's Supper in his parish to such as are not ignorant or scandalous, and will, in the trial of the persons to be admitted, walk according to the rules for trial in case of ignorance and scandal advised by the late reverend Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

That he be a person that doth declare his good affection unto a legal Parliamentary settlement in this nation.'[2]

It is sufficiently obvious from the foregoing that Anabaptism

[1] A/25, ff. 208, 216, 269; Adair, p. 231 ff.; Carte, iv, p. 5.
[2] A/25, f. 211.

was to receive no encouragement. In addition the eight ministers were strictly enjoined not to recommend for salary any preachers who professed those principles, who were scandalous in their lives, or who refused ordination by orthodox ministers, i. e. by Presbyterians or Independents, for it is clear that though Episcopalians would be admitted, no encouragement would as yet be given to the administering of Holy Orders by Bishops. Accordingly they delivered in a list of Anabaptists who enjoyed State payment, amongst whom were some preachers, all of whom were consequently deprived of their salaries. Furthermore, for the regulation of religion, they were empowered to recommend to the Convention suitable men as ministers, and in accordance with this they presented a list of about one hundred and sixty 'sober, orthodox men'. There is extant in A/25 a list of salaried preachers for the half-year ending the 25th of March 1660, the order for their payment being only made on the 19th of May following, as money was very scarce. This contains only one hundred and twenty names (excluding schoolmasters), but the apparent discrepancy between this and Adair's statement must be due to the fact that this list merely enumerates those ministers who enjoyed *salaries*, while that presented by the committee of eight included as well those who were settled on tithes. The names of only ten Presbyterians appear in the Precincts of Belfast and Derry, as the remainder were established in parishes. The total amount paid in salaries to ministers and schoolmasters for that half-year amounted to £6,835.[1]

At the same time steps were taken to bring in a fresh supply of ministers. Dr. Worth was sent over to England for the purpose of obtaining preachers, and amongst those whom he induced to come over was Thomas Parsons, who was established at St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, by an order of the 11th of May, with the 'unanimous importunity' of the inhabitants; he states that he came 'from a good people and settlement to the city of his nativity'. He was settled there at a salary of £200, and as well received £50

[1] Adair, p. 235. The list is in A/25, f. 219.

towards the expense of bringing his family over. Again, in October Worth was reimbursed £20 which he had laid out on the transporting of Thomas Francis and John Freestone. Previous to this he had got a grant of £70 to defray his expenses in searching for ministers.[1]

During his stay in England Worth took a prominent part, not hitherto noticed, in the attempts made to establish Presbyterianism in that country. The King had directed the Presbyterians to submit their grievances to him in writing, upon which they drew up a paper of proposals on church matters which, with Archbishop Usher's *Reduction of Episcopacy* attached, was to be presented to him. The portion relative to ceremonies was drawn up by Worth and Reynolds, and the worthy Dean's sentiments can be gauged from the fact that in this it was desired that kneeling at the Lord's Supper and keeping of holy days should not be compulsory, and that the use of the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Christ, should be abolished. It should be remembered that both these Divines became Bishops shortly after, Reynolds being promoted to the See of Norwich.[2]

Some of the minor steps taken in ecclesiastical affairs down to the adjournment of the Convention at the end of May must now be dealt with. It has already been shown that the power in spiritual matters lay in the hands of the Commissioners, and as they were favourable to Monarchy it is not a matter of surprise that their first recorded order (on the 7th of April) related to the restoration of the outspoken Heritage Badcock, who had been 'illegally dispossessed', and to the payment of a half-year's salary due to him. A petition had been presented to them by Edward Sipig on behalf of himself and thirteen of the Cork clergy. In it the petitioners stated that they had already sent a petition to the Convention, apparently for the purpose of seeking restoration to their parishes, and as they lived a hundred (Irish) miles from Dublin 'they cannot appear to suddenly exhibit their grants, patents, and evidences unto their respective

[1] A/25, ff. 221, 228, 338 b, 385 b.
[2] Sylvester's *Life of Baxter*, Book I, part i, p. 232 ff.

ecclesiastical benefices, of which (as they humbly conceive) they are illegally and unjustly dispossessed '; consequently they requested the Commissioners not to allow the tithes of the same to be set to the use of the State, as heretofore, but to cause them to be sequestered into the hands of certain gentlemen in Co. Cork, until the case be heard and determined: an order in their favour was issued to this effect.[1]

A few days later an order was made on a very interesting petition. Essex Digby, rector of Geashill, had been driven from thence by the Rebellion, and had subsequently officiated as a minister of the Gospel in Belfast at a salary of £120 per annum. Of this he stated that there was still £30 owing for the quarter ending 24th of July 1659, and that about the same date, at the earnest request of the Protestant inhabitants of Geashill and with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, he had returned to his 'auncient charge', but had received no money, as all the tithes of King's Co. had been farmed out by the late Commissioners of Parliament, since when he and the other ministers settled on tithes in that county had been destitute of maintenance. He himself had been forced to subsist 'for the most part upon borrowing, it being a time of more than ordinary expense to him through the removal of his family so far from Belfast to Geashill'. Consequently he begged that the money due might be paid him, and that he might be settled at Geashill. On his case being examined it was found that he should receive £150 in all, and of this the receiver of revenues was directed to pay him £75 on account, while it was further ordered that he should take possession of the rectory of Geashill as fully and amply as he had enjoyed the same before the Rebellion, and that for the future the tithes should not be let or set for the use of the State. This is the first instance recorded in the latter half of the volume classed A/25 of a clergyman of the Irish Church being restored to his livings on his former footing.[2]

An old question of dispute was reopened, and settled this time in a very different manner. It will be remembered that in 1658 John Kerdiff had attempted to regain possession of

[1] A/25, ff. 201, 202, 203. [2] A/25, ff. 203–5.

Navan, first by petitioning, and then apparently by force, though without success, as the Government upheld the appointment of Jonathan Edwards. Now the tables were turned. On the 11th of May Kerdiff was ordered to enjoy Navan and other rectories according to his legal right. Presumably Edwards was ejected, but on the 23rd of April he was paid his salary for the half-year ending the 25th of March; and in 1661 was presented by the Corporation of Dublin to the living of Rathmacknee, Co. Wexford. On the same date as the above Christopher Kerdiff was restored to his legal possession of vicarages in Meath.[1]

On the 28th of May the Convention adjourned till the following November, and sent Commissioners to the King, desiring (amongst other things) that certain steps should be taken with respect to impropriate tithes which might afford relief to the clergy, and that the Episcopal system of Church government should be restored. It is evident that some time prior to this the tide had turned definitely in favour of Episcopacy. Adair indicates this in a striking sentence. 'Some Bishops who at my arrival [in Dublin] had very hardly access to the Commissioners upon any business, no one seeming to own them in the streets, and who had been content with the countenance of any private person, before I left had become high, and much courted, and had their titles given them.' A letter from Dublin of the 25th of April states that by that date five Bishops had been 'put in', and were each given £200 a year; certainly on the 12th of May it was ordered that Doctors Henry and John Lesley should each receive a lump sum in hand, as well as the above grant, which was to commence from the last quarter-day. This was in reality nothing more than a continuance of what had been done under the Commonwealth. The surviving Bishops of the Irish Church at this date were Bramhall (Derry), Jones (Clogher), H. Lesley (Down), J. Lesley (Raphoe), Maxwell (Kilmore), Williams (Ossory), Fulwar (Ardfert), and Baylie (Clonfert).[2]

[1] A/25, ff. 207, 217; Gilbert, iv, p. 210.

[2] Carte, iv, p. 9; Adair, p. 240; *Thurloe*, vii, p. 909: for grants see A/25, ff. 223, 224.

Patrick Adair returned home, apparently before the adjournment of the Convention, as he feared what the future might have in store, and desired that his Church should take all possible steps to safeguard herself against the dangers which threatened her. He met his brethren in synod at Ballymena and gave them an account of what happened in Dublin, at the same time bringing them warrants from the Commissioners for the tithes of their respective parishes, though these must automatically have become invalid as soon as a regular Parliament was summoned. The Presbyterians thereupon resolved to present an address to the King, begging him to establish religion according to their system. This was entrusted to the hands of two of their number, William Keyes and William Richardson. These started on their journey in May, and on their arrival in London they went to Sir John Clotworthy, who introduced them to some of the prominent Presbyterian ministers there. The latter, who were better acquainted with the state of affairs in London than were their Ulster brethren, warned them that the passages in the address with reference to the Covenant and to prelacy were put with too much plainness to suit the occasion, and finally, in deference to similar advice given them by others, they expunged the objectionable phrases, and then presented the address in its amended form to the King. Charles greeted them with 'an awful majestical countenance', but withal gave them 'good words', a commodity which he never lacked, admitting their loyalty in the past, and promising them his protection in days to come. He also told them that he had appointed a Lord Deputy who would prove their friend, and to whom he would deliver his commands concerning them. This referred to Lord Roberts, who had been appointed Deputy after the Convention, but who, however, did not come over. In the instructions issued to him was one which directed him to endeavour to bring the several dissenting parties in Ireland to a conformity with the religion and worship established by law, which was somewhat at variance with the King's promise. With this small grain of comfort the two emissaries returned home. Their brethren were

pleased that they had been able to have access to the King, the more so as addresses from the Presbyterians outside Ulster would not be received; yet they greatly regretted the alterations made in the address, and feared the worst, not without good reason.[1]

Adair states that the eight ministers who had been summoned to Dublin had at first refused to recommend for livings 'divers old prelatical men who were corrupt in their doctrine, and immoral in their lives', and that subsequently the Committee of religion appointed by the Convention began to plead in favour of such, and said that if the ministers would not give such a recommendation they themselves would recommend them to the Commissioners as suitable men for receiving tithes and parishes. Finally, the majority of the eight fell in with the Committee's way of thinking, and recommended men with whom the minority would have nothing to do. An illustration of this may be found in the case of John Kerdiff, already alluded to. This was referred to the eight for consideration, and as he was restored according to his former legal right, it is evident that a favourable report on him was presented to the Commissioners.[2]

The latter half of the volume classed A/25 is invaluable for the history of the Irish Church at this epoch, as it shows more clearly than any other existing document the train of events in the transition period, and affords illustrations on such points as the retention of the 'ministers of the Gospel' side by side with Churchmen, the obvious difficulties that were thus created, the consequent disputes that arose between the two parties, and the legal proofs of their right to hold parishes presented by the Irish clergy. With a few of these illustrative documents we must now deal.

The Episcopal clergy had begun to flock back in ever-increasing numbers in order that they might establish their right to the possession of parishes from which they had been forced by stress of circumstance to be absent, in some instances

[1] Adair, pp. 241–3; instructions to Roberts in *S. P. I.* (*Chas. II*), i, p. 14.
[2] Adair, p. 240.

for nearly twenty years. Strange and varied must have been the experiences undergone by those who survived to the Restoration. Many a one of them had been 'wrested out with danger of his life' by the rebels in 1641, and robbed of all his goods, besides suffering the loss of his livings. Some remained in Ireland, while others fled to England, and officiated there in the ministerial capacity. One man made his way to Wales with his family, and while returning to his former cure died on board ship in Dublin Harbour. Others again may, like Devereux Spratt, have been captured when leaving Ireland by Algerine pirates, or other 'miscreants', and carried away to slavery on far-distant shores. Those who stayed in Ireland and were not accepted as ministers must have been driven to many straits to gain their daily bread for themselves and their families. One man related that he reaped a small benefit by compounding for the tithes of certain parishes. Another was compelled to exist on the charity of well-disposed Christians, and was 'reduced to a greater want than he would willingly make known'; another, more fortunate, was able to live by the labour of his hands.

They then commenced to present their claims to their former parishes and emoluments. Frequently, though not invariably, the cases were referred to the Solicitor-General, to whom all documents containing evidence relative to their demands, such as titles of presentation, letters patent, and certificates of induction or of installation, had to be submitted. One illustration will make the process clear. In September Thomas Coffey, clerk, petitioned to be restored to his living of Kilclonfert. Two pieces of evidence were laid before the Solicitor-General. (1) A document, dated 10th of October 1643, under the seal of the Archbishop of Dublin (during the vacancy of the See of Kildare), admitting the petitioner to the parish of Kilclonfert, he having been presented thereto by Oliver Flood. (2) A document under the seal of the Archdeacon of Kildare, dated 6th of December 1643, and signed William Golborne, testifying to the petitioner's induction. This was deemed satisfactory, so Coffey was ordered to enjoy his livings. In all instances the final order for restoration

was made by the Commissioners, or at a later date by the Lords Justices and Council.[1]

The above may be taken as a typical example of the nature of the evidence adduced, though sometimes a larger number of documents were brought forward. In one particular instance, however, the evidence on which the claim was based was so exceptional that it was only grudgingly admitted. Arthur Nodham stated that upon the resignation of Lewis Williams, parson of Kilkeel with the three chapels of Killinegan, Kilcow, and Tawlaght (Co. Down), he had been presented thereto by the patron Nicholas Bagnall, and entered into possession about April 1659, from which date he had continued officiating and discharging the duty. The case was referred to the Solicitor-General, who found that by Letters Patent bearing date 18th of February X Charles I the advowson was granted to Arthur Bagnall and his heirs. He also examined a parchment bearing date 1st of January 1658 (evidently 1659 N. S.), by which it appeared that Nicholas Bagnall did present Nodham to the Committee for Approbation of Ministers in order that he might be appointed to the parish. The Solicitor-General decided that he had no legal title to the tithes for want of a legal institution and induction ; but that, as he had been appointed thereto, he should be permitted to have them. Despite this order it appears that the Commissioners had set the tithes, whereupon it was directed that if this were the case the bonds should be delivered to Nodham.[2]

As Williams was not a ' minister of the Gospel ' this affords a further proof that several of the Irish clergy were left undisturbed in their livings in various parts of the country. The presentation of Nodham by a patron to the Committee for Approbation will remind the reader of the case of Neptune Blood, already alluded to.

In many instances the necessary documents had been lost or destroyed, and steps were taken accordingly to provide their equivalents. In the case of Crown presentations which had subsequently been enrolled, copies of the Letters Patent were available. Other proofs were obtained by searches

[1] A/25, f. 325.

[2] A/25, ff. 261, 303.

amongst the records in the First-Fruits and Hanaper Offices. In addition to these many curious indirect pieces of evidence were adduced, such as an extract from an Archbishop's triennial visitation-book, or the records of a lawsuit about tithes, or a document signed in 1642 by the Commissioners for examining the losses of His Majesty's subjects, in which it was stated that the claimant had been driven by the rebels from certain specified livings. In one instance, owing to the loss of papers, an Archdeacon was brought forward as witness, who declared on oath that in 1641 the petitioner was vicar of the parishes to which his claim referred. On another occasion an original document was produced, from which the seal and date had rotted off, but as the remainder was legible it was accepted as legal evidence.

In every instance, when evidence was produced, the claimant was restored to his former livings. To this general statement there is one exception, which contains matter of much interest. Bernard Packington, a clergyman of Cork diocese, petitioned to be restored to St. Peter's in that city, of which he had been in possession for some years until he was ejected ' by the violence of a power then predominant, to be made use of by the Anabaptists who until this late change of Government have exercised their possession in that place, but now being thought fit by the present authority they should be removed '. In proof whereof he laid two documents before the Solicitor-General. The first was signed Inchiquin, and dated the 20th of December 1646, in which the Lord President of Munster (stating that by a document under the Great Seal of England dated 21st of January 1644 he was authorized to provide for such godly ministers as should conform themselves to the Church government then settled by the English Parliament), presented Packington to be pastor or minister of St. Peter's. The second document was signed by the same personage, bearing date 1st of January 1646–7, and sealed with the privy seal of the Province, whereby the petitioner was appointed by the Lord President and Council of Munster to be one of the lecturers of the city of Cork, and to officiate at St. Peter's, his salary of £100 a year to be paid out of the estate

of the Bishop of Cork. The Solicitor-General found that in strictness of law he had no legal title, and so refused to allow the appointment to stand.[1]

When the clergy had re-established their claim to the satisfaction of the Government, and had betaken themselves to their parishes, they must have found in many instances that the latter were occupied by 'ministers of the Gospel' who were not unnaturally desirous of keeping that which they held. A few instances of the treatment of such cases are recorded in A/25, though it is obvious that if other similar volumes were extant these examples could be multiplied tenfold. At a slightly later date the intruders were dealt with in a simple and drastic manner, but at this time they were not removed until the cases had been inquired into, and pending the production of the necessary legal proofs, they were directed to retain possession of the parishes.

In June Andrew Hamilton claimed the livings of Kilskeery in Tyrone and Magheracross in Fermanagh, to which he had been presented by Letters Patent of Charles I. However, at the time of making his claim Kilskeery was held by James Graham (of whom nothing seems to be recorded elsewhere), and Magheracross by Robert Auld, a Presbyterian. It was accordingly ordered that 'if he have a legal title he may enjoy them, there being a saving of all men's rights in the late orders granted for settling ministers upon titles'. Graham petitioned against this decision, whereupon it was further ordered that Hamilton should make good his title to Kilskeery, and that in the meantime he should allow Graham to hold the parish according to his settlement. In August it was directed that if Hamilton could prove to the satisfaction of the Commissioners for settling tithes that he had been in possession of the two parishes before the rebellion he should thereupon enjoy them, notwithstanding any orders to the contrary. Apparently he had lost the necessary documents, and it is not recorded if he succeeded in establishing his claim.[2]

A more unequivocal case occurs. Robert Montgomery

[1] A/25, f. 287. [2] A/25, ff. 241, 279, 292.

(who in 1656 got 20*s.* relief as being 'a poor distressed minister') proved that he had a good and legal title to Errigal, Co. Derry, and was accordingly permitted to enjoy it. At this time it was in the possession of John Law, a Presbyterian, who had been settled there on tithes in 1659. Montgomery complained about this, and accordingly in October it was directed that, notwithstanding his former order of settlement, Law should permit him to hold the parish as heretofore.[1]

Sometimes it would appear that when a claim for restoration was proved the 'minister' was not ejected. In October Hugh Gore successfully established his right to hold (with other livings) the perpetual vicarage of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, to which he had been appointed by the Mayor, Recorder, and Bailiffs of that town. In the order for restitution it was stated that 'seeing that Samuel Ladyman hath continued minister there for several years past [he had been placed there by Fleetwood] we desire the Bishop of Clogher, the Bishop-elect of Killaloe (Worth), and Dr. Dudley Loftus to endeavour by the petitioner's consent to accommodate the petitioner with some other living than that of Clonmel, so that Mr. Ladyman may be continued there, and if that may not be, that then they endeavour that Mr. Ladyman be provided for elsewhere'. He continued to be vicar of Clonmel after the Restoration, and was also beneficed in the Diocese of Cashel.[2]

Occasionally a compromise must have been made between the 'minister' and the legal incumbent. Thus Humphrey Whittingham had been paid a salary of £100, and was subsequently settled on the tithes of the rectory of Ogashin, Co. Clare, where he constantly preached for half a year. Then the former rector, William Hewitt, proved his title and took possession of the rectorial tithes, but being unable to officiate through old age agreed to pay Whittingham £60 a year to serve the cure instead. By this agreement the latter lost £40, and the case was referred for consideration to the

[1] A/2, f. 305; A/22, f. 14 a; A/25, ff. 287, 340.
[2] A/25, ff. 341 b, 352 b.

Bishop of Clogher and others, who recommended that he should be paid what was due, and accordingly an order was issued that he should receive £20 for the half-year.[1]

A lengthy and acrimonious dispute arose between two of the Episcopal clergy, one of whom had accepted office as minister, while the other had not, in which the parishioners also took sides. John Andrews, formerly a beneficed clergyman in the Diocese of Killaloe, had been appointed minister at Rathkeale, Co. Limerick, and places adjacent in December 1653. Now when radical changes were being brought about the people petitioned that he should be retained there; it was accordingly ordered in May that he should be continued in peaceable possession, and that if any legal objection was found against him a particular charge should be exhibited. However, in July he complained that he had been 'unrighteously hindered' by several people, his principal opponents being Captain Thomas Southwell and the Rev. Hugh Gough. It appears that by an order of the 19th of July both had been ordered to appear within fourteen days to answer the petitioner's complaints, but this they had disregarded, and 'remain at home and make it their business to oppose your petitioner, and hinder him in his duty'. On one occasion a number of their servants, amongst whom was a dragoon, assaulted Andrews's servant on Rathkeale bridge, and seizing his two horses laden with tithes flung the latter into the river; while almost every day he was threatened with eviction from the 'minister's castle' where he resided. Gough was peremptorily ordered to appear within fourteen days to exhibit his titles. He did not do so in person, alleging as excuse his great age and bodily infirmities, but stated that he had been recalled from England by his former parishioners, and that he had produced before the Commissioners for setting tithes his Letters Patent to Rathkeale and other parishes. Upon this he was ordered to enjoy his former livings, and this must have implied the ejection of Andrews.[2]

Speaking briefly, the Irish Government adopted a fourfold

[1] A/25, f. 363 b; Dwyer's *Killaloe*, pp. 162, 176.
[2] A/1, f. 38; A/25, ff. 230, 278, 332 b; Dwyer's *Killaloe*, p. 173.

plan with respect to the appointment of preachers in 1660. (1) Most of the existing ministers were retained either on tithes or salary, and were sometimes moved to fresh locations. (2) New ministers were brought in from England on the same terms. (3) Episcopalian clergy who had acted as ministers under the Commonwealth were restored to their livings on their former legal status. (4) Episcopalians, who had never accepted office as preachers, but who had either remained quietly in the country or had fled to England or Wales, were also restored to their livings.

The shortage of money and the confusion of the times hindered the smooth running of the ecclesiastical system devised by the Commonwealth. As a natural consequence many ministerial salaries were in arrears, and belated orders were made for the payment of these. Thus in September it was ordered that such of the ministers as had not received their salaries due to them on the 25th of the preceding March should be paid before any others out of the ecclesiastical revenues due the coming 29th of September. It should be borne in mind that the payment of salaries to 'ministers of the Gospel' (unless they had been placed on tithes) was being continued as under the Commonwealth; almost the last recorded orders with respect to payment of amounts due were made early in March 1661 with reference to Samuel Cox, a Presbyterian, and Timothy Taylor, an Independent; and in both cases it was the Archbishop of Armagh (Bramhall) who had to see that the money was issued. The allowance of the fifths to the ministers' wives in Co. Cork was continued, the last recorded order for the same being dated the 7th of May 1660.[1]

In addition to the question of salaries the Government experienced much trouble over the tithes. In several instances it was found that though these had been granted to a minister for his support, or restored to the legal incumbent, yet by some oversight they had been set for State purposes, and reparation had to be made accordingly. It also happened that the tithes frequently fell short of what was expected,

[1] A/25, ff. 212, 319, 401, 402.

so the balance had to be made up from the revenue. Thus the celebrated Patrick Adair, 'incumbent' of Carncastle, stated that he had no more left for his maintenance, according to the valuation made on the returns of the Commissioners for uniting parishes in Antrim, than £83. As he had been previously settled there at a fixed stipend of £100, he certainly had reasonable grounds for complaint, and accordingly was paid the amount due. Other ministers requested that they should be placed again on salary, or, failing this, that they should be given other parishes in addition to those which they already held, in order that the balance due to them might be made up. As the latter was the easiest and cheapest course it was often followed, sometimes with ludicrous results. One minister, an Episcopalian, who was restored to the living he had held before the rebellion, stated that the tithes of his two parishes did not yield a competent stipend, and accordingly petitioned that he might enjoy in addition two adjacent livings. This was granted, but he speedily discovered that the sum-total of the vicarial tithes from the four parishes only amounted to £20 13*s.* 4*d.*, which fell lamentably short of the £100 formerly allowed him.[1]

The entries also throw a retrospective light on the action of the Commonwealth Government in 1657 and 1658 with respect to the uniting of parishes and settlement on tithes, and show that the steps then taken were not always attended with success. It will be remembered that in his letters to his brother-in-law Major Rawdon described the formation in September 1657 of four distinct unions in his part of the country, each of which was supposed to be able to afford a competent maintenance to a minister. As a sequel to this we find in June 1660 that the minister of one of them petitioned that another of the unions, then vacant, should be joined to him for his better support. In one instance additional parishes in Wexford were granted to a minister because the tithes of the original living mainly came from the herring-fishery 'which is very casual and uncertain'. In July the following instructions were issued to the Commissioners for

[1] A/25, ff. 227, 233, 277, 313.

setting tithes in Cos. Roscommon and Galway. 'You are to take notice that where tithes are settled upon ministers for their maintenance those tithes which formerly belonged to Bishops are allowed them, and included within their order, and are not to be set by you, but are to be possessed and enjoyed by the present ministers and incumbents in the respective parishes.' [1]

In the foregoing paragraphs a brief general description has been given of the administration of the ecclesiastical system during the year 1660. It now becomes necessary to pick up the thread of events after the return of Charles II to England.

On the advice of the Marquis of Ormond the King had, early in August, nominated Archbishops and Bishops to the vacant sees in Ireland. Their consecration did not take place until nearly six months later, the alleged reason for this delay being the want of a Great Seal; but in the meanwhile the King issued letters under the signet to the Bishops-elect. The delay naturally gave great encouragement to the opponents of Episcopacy, and petitions were sent from various parts of the country, in particular by the officers in and around Cashel, that the 'godly ministers of the Gospel' who had laboured so long amongst them should be countenanced and continued. In addition to this other persons in a higher position endeavoured to have an attack made upon episcopal property; this drew forth a remonstrance from the Bishops to the King, who assured them that he would by all means in his power preserve the rights of the Irish Church. Further correspondence passed with reference to the establishment of a uniform tithing-table, the remission of first-fruits and twentieth parts, the union of small parishes so as to form a competent living, the equal taxation of ecclesiastical benefices, and so on. This was carried on with the encouragement and co-operation of Ormond, and in consequence the Hierarchy in Dublin presented him with an address of thanks in the name of themselves and all the clergy in February 1661.[2]

[1] A/25, ff. 221, 243; order to Commissioners, *ibid.* f, 256.
[2] Carte, iv, pp. 19–23; *Rawdon Papers*, pp. 114–16, 169.

As has been already shown, the ' ministers ' were retained for some time side by side with the incumbents who had returned and made a successful claim to their livings. It was obvious that this state of affairs could not continue for long, and before the close of the year 1660 the first loud mutterings of the storm were heard. Sir Charles Coote (now Earl of Mountrath) and Major Bury reported in a letter of the 4th of October that two sermons tending to encourage sedition and tumult had been preached in Dublin by Samuel Mather, whom they had permitted to continue officiating on account of his apparent readiness to accept the King's Government. On summoning him before them he admitted his dislike of Episcopacy and the Prayer-Book. They asked for the sermons in question, and he promised them copies. Knowing that he had them on his person they desired to see them there and then, but he refused to produce them on the grounds that he had preached from notes, and not from a manuscript, and that these notes would be quite unintelligible to the ordinary person, while it was possible that they contained matter more incriminating than was in the sermon as actually delivered, as he had not preached directly from the notes. Unwilling to use force, they dismissed him, though their suspicions were aroused by his ' uningenuous carriage '. One is loath to believe that the broad-minded and tolerant Samuel Mather would have acted in as evasive and shifty a manner as the Commissioners insinuated. According to another source he was silenced on this occasion, although the sermon merely denounced certain (alleged) Romanizing practices, and affirmed that the communion-table was still a table, not an altar. In the same letter Mountrath and Bury stated that at the time of Mather's examination several ministers sent in a petition against Archdeacon Bulkeley, who had issued some monitions without consulting the Commissioners. In reply to this the latter promised to forward the petition to the King, but observed that if the Archdeacon bade the petitioners do what was agreeable to the law they must obey him. It appears that upon their readiness to accept the King's Government none of the signatories had

as yet been removed, with the exception of Robert Chambers, minister of St. Patrick's, who had been silenced several months previously by the general Convention, because of a treasonable pamphlet which he had published, and which was condemned to be burnt by the hangman. Notwithstanding this he had subsequently officiated without permission. It may have been in connexion with these events that Samuel Cox was suspended from officiating at St. Catherine's; in consequence of which the parishioners met publicly on the 5th of February 1661, and elected as their minister one William Hewetson, to whom they assigned such maintenance and perquisites as were enjoyed by his predecessors.[1]

Trouble also began for and with the Presbyterians in Ulster. Jeremy Taylor had been nominated to the Dioceses of Down and Connor, to which Dromore was subsequently added, these representing the stronghold of northern Presbyterianism. Though he had as yet no legal authority it would seem that by December he had taken steps to suspend one of these ministers. At all events it is certain that some time before his consecration (October) he wrote complaining that they were in other men's livings, and advising that the secular power should deal with them; adding that they were imbibing great hopes from the delay about consecrating. Lord Caulfield also wrote from Charlemont in October to Bramhall to report that the Presbyterians had declared that the Kirk had power to excommunicate kings, and that in consequence of this and other speeches he had inflicted suitable punishment upon them, and prevented them holding meetings.[2]

All this influenced the Presbyterians, and at a meeting held by them in the close of November it was resolved that a charge of heresy should be brought against Taylor, the work of drawing up the articles being entrusted to four of their members, John Gregg, John Drisdaile, Gilbert Ramsey, and Alexander Hutchinson. Of all this Taylor reported in a letter to Ormond: 'They have now gone about to asperse

[1] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. II*), i, p. 41; Urwick, p. 78; *Thurloe*, vii, p. 900; V.-B. St. Catherine's, f. 21.

[2] Latimer, p. 127; Caulfield's letter is in *Rawdon Papers*, p. 126.

me as an Arminian, and a Socinian, and a Papist, or at least half a Papist . . . they have lately bought my books, and appointed a committee of Scotch spiders to see if they can gather or make poison out of them.' When drawn up the charge of heresy was to be taken to Dublin, and if it got no hearing there it was to be sent over to England and presented to the King. In the meanwhile all were to preach vigorously against Episcopacy and the Prayer-Book. A most foolish and ill-tempered sermon was preached by William Richardson on Ephesians vi. 4 ('Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth'). In it he advised his hearers to get the Bible by heart, for the time of persecution was at hand worse than Queen Mary's days, for shortly none should dare to keep a Bible in his house. He said that he himself was so charitable that he thought that some Papists, Anabaptists, and Independents might be saved (he left out old Protestants) but with great hazard; but that only in their communion men could walk to Heaven safely. He declared the time was at hand when it would be safer to break the Lord's Day than a holy-day, and thanked God for the little mite of liberty the King had given them. Thus early animosity appeared between Taylor and the Presbyterian clergy, and it would seem that this had its origin, not in any attack made by them on him for using the sign of the cross, but partly because he early intimated his intention of using coercive measures, and partly because they objected to his theological opinions.[1]

The Quakers, who by this time were widely spread through the country, also came in for their share of affliction. It has been estimated that in the end of 1660 and the following year, two hundred and fifty-nine of them were cast into prison, although the Lords Justices were friendly disposed towards them. The celebrated Quaker, William Edmundson, approached the latter on behalf of his co-religionists, most of whom were released as a result of his efforts. The sect of the Muggletonians also made its appearance in Ireland about this time, the principal converts to this extraordinary

[1] *S. P. I. (Chas. II)*, i, p. 115; Gosse's *Life of Taylor*, p. 173.

denomination being Colonel Phair the regicide, and his wife and family.[1]

At length on the 27th of January 1661 twelve Bishops were consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The sermon was preached by Jeremy Taylor, who taught his hearers 'the office of a bishop', and the entire ceremony took place without any confusion or clamour, save the many prayers and blessings from the people, a solitary note of discord being struck (to modern ears at least) by a puerile verse in the anthem. On the following day the newly consecrated Bishops gave a sumptuous banquet to the Lords Justices and Council, the Mayor and Aldermen, and most of the Convention. At the ceremony the Bishops-consecrators were Primate Bramhall, Jones (Clogher), Maxwell (Kilmore), Williams (Ossory), and John Lesley (Raphoe). Some uncertainty exists with respect to the exact part taken by Jones in the ceremony of consecration. Ware quotes Borlace as saying that some who in the late wars had moved extrinsical to their functions were not permitted to lay on hands, lest any question should be raised as to the legitimacy of the ordination. This is evidently an allusion to Jones having acted as Scout-Master-General in Cromwell's army. On the other hand Monck Mason says that Jones, being junior, did not actually impose hands, but at his own request performed the office of holding and presenting the Bible to the Primate. This seems to be the more accurate statement, for Jones must have acted in this manner on account of the objections that had been raised to him. Bramhall wrote a week before the ceremony: 'We have had some exceptions against the Bishop of Clogher, but I have ended them all with a general consent, and in the presence of all the Bishops absolved him from his irregularity.' Again in the following April he wrote of Jones: 'He hath been as instrumental as any man whatsoever in the restitution of all of us; and understands the present state of this part of Ireland better than any of us, and being qualified at the late consecration by some of the Bishops, he behaved himself

[1] *Sufferings*, pp. 126–7; Edmundson's *Diary*, p. 49; L. Muggleton, *Acts of the Witnesses*, iv, 2, Sects. 34–5.

as modestly and discreetly, and gave so much satisfaction that he gained ground in the judgment of his adversaries themselves.' Objections had also been urged against the consecration of Edward Worth, elect of Killaloe, obviously on account of his Presbyterian tendencies.[1]

On the 22nd of January the Lords Justices and Council issued a comprehensive proclamation against the holding of unlawful assemblies by Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and other fanatical persons; some of whom (it was alleged) had taken upon themselves to appoint public fasts and days of humiliation, to give holy orders, to induct into benefices, and to deprive ministers who had good and legal titles at their arbitrary pleasure and with the assistance of such of the parishioners as joined with them. If the statements in this were true to fact, and did not merely relate to past events, the non-Episcopalian ministers and their adherents must have adopted a most pugnacious attitude; though it is probable that the proclamation was mainly aimed against the Presbyterians.[2]

That some of the Ulster ministers had adopted a very arrogant attitude at this time towards the members of the Irish Church is shown by a petition presented by Archibald Glasgow. It appears that Dr. Thomas Bruce, rector of Taboyne, had appointed him to officiate as his curate, hoping (though seventy-four years of age) to come and join him in time. During his stay there Glasgow had become acquainted with John Hart, the Presbyterian minister who officiated at Taboyne, but soon found that the latter, 'because the late usurped Power had given to him the charge of all the churches of the north-west of Ireland, being hither recommended by Mr. Gillespie the great Remonstrator in the west of Scotland, takes it in derision that any should offer to dispossess him that thought and thinks himself immovable, saying flatly that he will not suffer any man to officiate in the aforesaid parish so long as he can hinder them, exhorting the people

[1] Monck Mason, pp. 192 ff; *S. P. I.* (*Chas. II*), i, p. 199; Ware, p. 160; Bramhall's letters are in Russell and Prendergast's *Report on Carte MSS.*, p. 106.

[2] *S. P. I.* (*Chas. II.*), i, p. 191.

in public to stick by him and he will stick by them, exclaiming against Dr. Bruce, telling them that they must now be served by curates, which is nothing else but a buying and selling of God's people, with divers other gross expressions.' Glasgow remonstrated with him in private, but 'notwithstanding all peaceable endeavours Hart is strengthening himself by frequent preaching daily from corner to corner, not only of his own parish, but through the country, denying any tithe or maintenance to be paid to Dr. Bruce'. Accordingly it was ordered on the 12th of February 1661 that if the Bishop of Raphoe found Glasgow a fit and proper person to serve the cure he was to admit him thereto, while Hart was enjoined to permit him to officiate. The foregoing may have been true, but Glasgow was certainly not an unprejudiced witness.[1]

After an interval of many years the Irish Parliament met on the 8th of May 1661. In the Upper House, of which Bramhall was chosen Speaker, all were in favour of Episcopacy with the exception of Sir John Clotworthy, now Lord Massareene; while only a minority of the Lower House supported Presbyterianism. Thomas Vesey was appointed chaplain to the Commons, and was directed, when reading prayers each morning, to observe the order and discipline of the Church of Ireland. On the 14th the Lords drew up a declaration on the motion of Viscount Montgomery, requiring all the subjects in the kingdom to conform to Church government by Episcopacy, and to the use of the Liturgy as established by law, the Act of Uniformity being unrepealed. This was sent down to the Commons, and returned by them with their full concurrence. It was then ordered that this declaration should be immediately printed, and read on the following Sunday publicly before the sermon by the ministers in and about Dublin; while the ministers throughout Ireland were to read it the Sunday after it reached each of them.[2]

Hitherto ministers had been ejected because their titles were not valid, or for seditious utterances, but now this

[1] A/25, ff. 390 a, 391.

[2] *Lords' Journal*, pp. 234, 236; *Commons' Journal*, pp. 599, 604, 605. For the opinions of the two Houses see Adair, p. 253; Mant, i, p. 631.

declaration was the signal for the commencement of active hostilities against them, as appears from incidental entries in the *Journal* of the House of Lords and elsewhere. It will be remembered that Faithful Teate, junior, had been appointed to a Dublin living during the Convention, and had his salary paid to him as late as the 5th of February 1661. Now it was ordered on the 20th of June, upon information given that he preached in the city contrary to the declaration, that an admonition should be issued to the Ordinary, prohibiting the like for the future; and that William Hewson, who had charge of the parish where Teate had officiated, should appear before the House to explain why he permitted him to do so. A few days later it was directed that Mr. Smyth (probably Josias Smith, late reader at Christ Church), who had lately preached a seditious sermon at Loughrea, should be sent for, and that Dudley Peirce, Dean of Kilmacduagh, should assist the messengers in finding him. Adair says that prior to the declaration of the 14th of May not many of the Presbyterian ministers had been silenced.[1]

A further blow was dealt at Presbyterianism by an order respecting the public burning of the Solemn League and Covenant, which was sent down from the Lords on the 27th of May, and passed the same day by the Commons. This was accordingly done in all cities and towns throughout Ireland in the presence of the magistrates. John Dalwey, the Mayor of Carrickfergus, appears to have been the only one who refused to comply with this order, though subsequently he carried it out.[2]

Of the steps taken by the Bishops to deal with recalcitrant nonconformists very little is recorded beyond some generalities, except in the case of Jeremy Taylor and the Presbyterians, where the details are fairly full. The passage-at-arms between him and them at the close of 1660 was not calculated to promote peace and harmony, and as soon as he came to his diocese open war broke out. Prior to his arrival the Presbyterian ministers had met in synod at Ballymena, and

[1] *Lords' Journal*, pp. 251, 258.
[2] *Commons' Journal*, p. 623; Adair, p. 254.

resolved to send four of their number to the Lords Justices and Council to put them in mind of the King's verbal promises to them in London; and for witness they included among the four a minister who had gone on that occasion. The deputation arrived in Dublin, and the discussion between them and the Council is described at length by Lord Orrery, one of the Justices. Every attempt was made to win them over to the side of conformity, but to no avail, and the only meagre satisfaction they received was a definition of the expression 'unlawful assemblies' which did not forbid them preaching, but prevented them meeting for the purpose of exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction. During their absence in Dublin Taylor arrived at his diocese, but postponed his first visitation until their return.[1]

Here it is necessary to digress for a little in order to make an attempt to date these incidents. Orrery's letter, in which he enclosed an account of the interview with the four ministers, is dated 2nd of January 1661, though with no indication as to whether this is old or new style. But it is highly improbable that, with his consecration coming on in a little over three weeks, Taylor would have been willing to travel so far from the metropolis to undertake a work which he knew would be lengthy and arduous; while he would scarcely have had the authority to visit and suspend while he was only a Bishop-elect. Bearing in mind too that the declaration enjoining uniformity was not issued until the middle of May 1661, and that, according to Adair, very few Presbyterians were silenced before its promulgation, it would appear that the true date of Orrery's letter is the 2nd of January 1662, and that Taylor's visitation consequently took place about the middle of that month. The reason for the delay on his part is not clear, except that his duties as Vice-Chancellor of the University and member of the Privy Council may have necessitated his staying in the capital.

Of Taylor's dealings with the Ulster ministers before, at, and subsequent to his first visitation two different accounts are recorded. On the one hand his biographer Heber says that

[1] Orrery's letter is quoted in Mant, i, pp. 628–30; Adair, pp. 245–7.

in order to win them over he preached in the various churches of his diocese, invited them to friendly conferences, and even made personal visits to their houses for this end. On the other hand Adair states that in his interviews with them he adopted an overbearing attitude, and finally ended by declaring thirty-six churches vacant in one day of his visitation at Lisburn. He did not suspend or excommunicate the occupants, but 'simply held them not to be ministers, they not being ordained by Bishops'. Accordingly he took steps to appoint rectors and curates to the parishes thus rendered vacant; and this method effectually prevented the Presbyterians from officiating, so that in the course of two or three months all except two were forced to desist from preaching.[1]

Bramhall, on the other hand, acted more leniently. At his visitation several ministers appeared, and exhibited the titles which they had received from the Commonwealth. He informed them that these were not legal, but offered to make them so by institution and induction, which they gratefully accepted. Then the question of Orders arose. Many of these men only held certificates of ordination from the Presbytery, and others no doubt had similar documents from Independent congregations. He told them plainly that he would not dispute the value of their ordination, but that as there was now a National Church limited by law he could not admit such orders as legal and that in consequence they could not recover their tithes. Accordingly several submitted to ordination at his hands, and in their letters of orders he introduced the explanatory remark 'that he did not annul the minister's former orders, if he had any, nor determine their validity or invalidity: but that he only supplied what before was wanting, as required by the canons of the Anglican Church'.[2]

Another Bishop who pressed hard upon the nonconformist ministers was Robert Lesley, who had been consecrated for Dromore, but was very shortly after translated to Raphoe. Adair says of the other Irish Bishops that though they ejected

[1] Heber, i, p. 167; Adair, pp. 247–52.
[2] Mant, i, p. 623.

ministers yet they dealt more humanely with them. The process of ejection must have been slow, and rendered more so by the fact that no new Act of Uniformity was passed until 1665. This enjoined assent to the Prayer-Book, and enacted that any incumbent who was not in holy orders by episcopal ordination on the 29th of September 1667 should be *ipso facto* deprived of his living. From this it would seem that many of the non-Episcopalian ministers had retained their benefices, or had been admitted to others, without being in orders. An examination of the registers of the various dioceses would throw much light on this subject. Cotton states in his Fasti (i, p. 134) that Samuel Ladyman, incumbent of Clonmel, whose case has already been referred to, was not ordained until February 1665.[1]

It is impossible to compute with any accuracy the number of ministers ejected between 1661 and the coming into operation of the new Act, though, if succession-lists of the clergy were published for each diocese—a piece of work that seemingly will never be done—a fairly satisfactory attempt could be made. It does not appear that any formal list was ever drawn up. As we have already stated, the process must have been slow, and its success must have depended largely on the will of individual Bishops. It is known, however, that at least sixty-six Presbyterians were silenced, a few of whom had never taken office as 'ministers of the Gospel' under the Commonwealth. Calamy gives a long list of ejected ministers, in which occur the names of many Irish ones, for the most part (we presume) followers of Independency. The few Anabaptists had been turned out by the Convention early in 1660. Many of those who were silenced fled to England, some of whom shortly after returned to Ireland to avoid the consequences of the Bartholomew Act, and again formed congregations in the metropolis and country.[2]

A few Presbyterians conformed. Besides these the names of other men who had acted as 'ministers' appear after 1661 in the lists of beneficed clergy throughout Ireland. Some of

[1] Adair, pp. 245, 247; Mant, i, p. 645.

[2] Latimer, p. 129; Calamy's *Abridgement of Baxter's History* (2nd ed., London, 1713), p. 53 ff; Urwick, p. 75.

these no doubt conformed for worldly reasons, others from conscientious motives; while it is quite probable that a few of them had received Episcopal ordination either in England or Ireland prior to the Restoration. The restored Irish Church must have benefited greatly by this infusion of fresh blood, though it is a matter of profound regret that she could find no room for men who in respect of godliness, eloquence, and learning were second to none. There has indeed been a tendency on the part of some modern writers to decry the 'ministers of the Gospel' *en masse*. Thus it is stated by Olden in his *History of the Irish Church*, that the greater number of them were Baptists; furthermore, quoting Killen, he says that some were unlettered mechanics, some were Fifth-Monarchy men, while others objected to singing psalms in public. How uncritical and inaccurate such generalizing is can easily be shown. It is clear that the salaried Anabaptist ministers were in a very small minority. We have met with *one* instance of a man (Blackwood) objecting to psalm-singing in public, and at the time he was not a 'minister of the Gospel' in the technical sense of the phrase. We have found *one* man (Wyke) to whom the description 'unlettered mechanic' would apply, though it appears there were a few of the same stamp in Galway in 1656. Only *one* (Rogers) is certainly known to have been a Fifth-Monarchist, and he did not become notorious for these opinions until after his departure from Ireland. On the other hand, nobody would pretend that all the ministers were saints; some passages in the dry Commonwealth records would be quite sufficient to refute such an idea. But men like Winter, Mather, Worth, Adair, must have been powerful instruments for good in the land; while, from the little that we know about Edward Wale, it may safely be inferred that many of those preachers who were so utterly obscure that nothing is known of them except their names were fully deserving of the title 'Ministers of the Gospel'.

APPENDIX

LIST OF MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL

This list is compiled from the Commonwealth volumes in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and thus represents the ministers officially recognized by the State, who were in consequence either paid salaries or settled upon tithes; no account is taken of names which do not appear in these, but are to be found elsewhere, e. g. in Leslie's Succession-lists for Armagh. I have endeavoured to give a list of the places where they officiated, with the year of appointment, or the earliest date at which a mention of them occurs. All names of persons or places printed in italics are taken from the latter portion of A/25, and thus fall outside the Commonwealth régime, and show the appointments made during the period of transition. In this I have not included the Episcopalian clergy who were restored to their legal tenure of their parishes in 1660, as they would not properly come within the scope of this list. The letters N.E. before a minister's name indicate that he came from New England. Alternative forms of surnames are given in brackets. I regret that I have not been successful in identifying several of the place-names.

Abbreviations: A=Anabaptist. E=Episcopalian. I=Independent. P=Presbyterian. B=Barony. C.L.=Civil List. p.=parish. u. p.=united parish. Prec.=Precinct. susp.=suspended. res.=resigned

P. Adair, Patrick. Carncastle, 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/20, f. 28.)

E. Adams, Randal. Athlone, 1654; Mullingar, C.L. 1655. (A/1, f. 147; A/19, f. 31.)

P. Adamson, John. Leckpatrick (Tyrone), 1657. (A/22, f. 14.)

E. Aldrish, William. Clones, 1654. (A/1, f. 226.)

P. Auld (Ald, Aldall), Robert. Clogher (Donegal), 1657; *Magheracross* (Fermanagh), 1660; *Cleenish, Derryvollan, and Derrybrooke*, later in 1660. (A/22, f. 14; A/25, ff. 241, 276.)

Amiraut (Emerott), Paul. Carrick-on-Suir, 1655. (A/5, f. 204.)

E. Andrews, John. Rathkeale, 1653. (A/1, f. 38.)

Archdall (Archdale), John. Lusk (Dublin), 1653. (A/84, f. 191.)

N.E. Aspinall, William. Kilcullen (Kildare), 1659. (A/25, f. 195.)

Ayton, John. Tynan (Armagh), 1657. (A/22, f. 31.)

Badcock, Heritage. Kilcullen, 1657. Susp. 1659, but restored 1660. (A/22, f. 11.)

I. Baines, Edward. St. Patrick's, Dublin, as assistant to R. Chambers, 1656; St. John's, 1658. (A/10, f. 197; A/22, f. 10 a.)

Bankes, Richard. Oldcourt (Wicklow), then Kilcoole and Delgany, C.L. 1656; *Newcastle* added 1660. (A/22, f. 10 a; A/25, f. 244.)

E. Barclay (Berkeley), Gawen. Co. Tipperary, 1654 (cancelled); Killaloe, 1654. (A/1, ff. 197, 210.)

E. Barclay (Barkley, Berckley), Hugh. Lifford, C.L. 1654. Susp. in 1658 and 1659. (A/33, f. 38.)

Barnard (Bernard), Francis. Lismore, 1656. (A/26, f. 179.)

Barnes, John. Tanderagee, Loughgall, and Drumcree, 1656; u. p. Seagoe in or before 1658. (A/22, f. 13 a; A/91, f. 44.)

E. Baskerville, John. Irish preaching in Queen's Co., 1652; Maryborough, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 33; A/58, f. 33.)

Beech, William. Naas and Ballymore-Eustace, 1653. Died shortly. (A/58, ff. 182, 243.)

P. Bennett, Mungo. Drumaragh (Down), 1658. (A/22, f. 31.)

Benton, Jeremy. Trim, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 21.)

Berkley (Bartlay, Barkeley), John. Cullen (Tipp.), 1655. (A/9, f. 265.)

Berkley, William. Castletown (Cork), 1656. (A/2, f. 453.)

Binckes, Joseph. B. Tirawley (Mayo), 1656. (A/2, f. 95.)

Birch, Eber. Belturbet, 1655; Annagh and Drumline, 1659. (A/8, f. 91; A/25, f. 214.)

Birdsall (Bridsall), Thomas. Reader in Christ Church, Dublin, 1655; B. Newcastle (Dublin), 1657. (A/5, f. 322; A/22, f. 10 a.)

E. Bishop, James. Rathfarnham, 1652. (A/57, f. 172.)

Blackburne, Richard. Athlone, 1652; Jamestown, C.L. 1656. (A/22, f. 12 a; A/57, f. 205.)

A. Blackwood, Christopher.[1] Kilkenny, 1653. (A/58, f. 165.)

Bladen, Thomas. B. Duleek (Meath), 1655. (A/5, f. 283.)

P. Blair, James. Drumbo (Down), 1658. (A/22, f. 14 a.)

Bourke, Edmund. Ballybritt (King's Co.), 1657. (A. 22, f. 11; A/91, f. 24.)

Bourke (Burgh), Richard. Navan, ejected 1658. (A/91, f. 26.)

Bowesfeild, Joseph. Dundalk, 1654; held with it in 1660 the tithes of Ballymascanlan, Philipstown, Faughart, and other parishes in Louth. (A/1, f. 59; A/25, f. 284.)

[1] His name appears in the Civil List for 1654, but not in later ones. He was removed to Dublin about the end of 1655, but this was apparently not done by the Government.

Brenn, Theobald. Trim, C.L. 1654 ; susp. 1655. (A/33, f. 32.)

I. Brewster, Nathaniel. St. Audoen's, Dublin, 1655 ; in England, C.L. 1657–9. (A/5, f. 204.)

E. Brice, George. B. Small County (Limk.), 1658. (A/22, f. 12 a.)

Brisbane, Robert. Drumragh and Termonmagurk (Tyrone), 1657. (A/22, f. 14.)

Briscoe, Michael. Drogheda, C.L. 1655 ; in England before 1658. (A/19, f. 21.)

Brookes, John. B. Iverk (Kilkenny), C.L. 1655 ; Rathkerran (Kilkenny), 1659. (A/19, f. 25 ; A/22, f. 11 a.)

Browne, Robert. Strabane, C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 35; A/22, f. 14.)

Browne, Robert. Elphin, C.L. 1657–9. (A/22, f. 12 a.)

P. Bruce, Michael. Killinchy (Down), 1658. (A/22, f. 31.)

E. Buckworth, Anthony. Newry, C.L. 1654 ; Magheralin, C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 33 ; A/33, f. 37.)

E. Bunbury, John. Clinmany (Donegal), 1654. (A/1, f. 58.)

Burdett, George. Limerick (assisting Gilbert), 1657 ; *St. Peter's, Cork*, 1660. (A/22, f. 12 a ; A/25, f. 214.)

Burston, Daniel. Tallow (Waterford), 1655 ; *Waterford*, 1660. (A/5, f. 210 ; A/25, f. 213.)

Burton, William. Clondalkin and other places, 1654 ; Low Grange (apparently in p. Grangesylva, Kilkenny), 1657 ; Soreheraine (? Seir-Kieran, B. Ballybritt, King's Co.), 1659. (A/1, f. 266 ; A/2, f. 150 ; A/91, f. 176.)

Burvill, James. Fethard (Tipp.), 1657 ; *Cashel with other small parishes, some of which formed the corps of the Deanery*, 1660. (A/22, f. 12 ; A/25, f. 356.)

Bury, Joseph. Ardee, 1655. (A/4, f. 370.)

Busbetch (Besbeech), Thomas. Lisnaskea, 1653 (cancelled) ; Naul (Dublin), 1654 ; Ballyclass (Cork), *circa* 1657. (A/1, ff. 35, 96 ; A/22, f. 12 ; A/86, f. 16.)

P. Buttle (Buthell, Butchell, Buchell, Bootle), David. Ballymena, 1657 ; *Finvoy and other ps. added*, 1660. (A/22, f. 31 ; A/25, f. 266.)

I. Bywater, John. Dublin city, then Ulster, 1651. (A/57, ff. 18, 22.)

P. Caldwell, William. Tomnatlee (Down), 1658. (A/22, f. 31.)

P. Campbell, James. Loughbrickland, 1658. (A/22, f. 31.)

E. Campbell, Patrick. Dromore, Castle Bourke, &c. (Prec. Galway), C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 31.)

Candler (Chandler, Candser), Charles. Birr, 1654. (A/10, f. 8 ; A/33, f. 35.)

Carey, James. St. Bride's, Dublin, 1656 ; Blarney (Cork), June 1657 ; B. Fartullagh (W.-Meath), May 1658 ; on

tithes at Trim subsequently ; *tithes of Castlerickard and other parishes added* 1660. (A/2, f. 51 ; A/22, ff. 12, 12 a ; A/25, f. 296 ; A/91, f. 22.)

Carleton, Andrew. Maghera and Kilmore (Fermanagh), 1658 ; on tithes Co. Derry later. (A/22, f. 13.)

Carr, Robert. Clonmel, C.L. 1654 ; susp. later. (A/33, f. 34.)

Castle, Lawrence. Thurles, C.L. 1655 ; susp. 1658, but apparently restored. (A/19, f. 27.)

Chambers, John. Co. Kerry, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 35.)

E. Chambers, Robert. Dublin, 1651 ; Drogheda, 1653 ; St. Patrick's and St. Kevin's (Dublin), before July 1655. (A/1, f. 21 ; A/5, f. 205 ; A/57, f. 39.)

E. Chaplin, Andrew. Dungarvan and Whitechurch, 1653 ; died April 1656. (A/1, f. 5.)

I. Charnock, Stephen. St. Patrick's and St. Kevin's, Dublin, July 1655 ; St. John's, Sept. 1655 ; St. Catherine's *pro tem.*, Oct. 1655 ; St. Werburgh's, Nov. 1655 ; said to be in Co. Cork on tithes, C.L. 1657–9. (A/5, ff. 205, 263, 298 ; A/9, f. 157 ; A/22, f. 10 a.)

Child, Robert. Bandon, Sept. 1655. (A/8, f. 238.)

Clapham, George. Philipstown, 1657. (A/22, f. 12 a.)

E. Clapham, Marmaduke, Sligo, 1654 ; Philipstown, C.L. 1655 ; dead in C.L. 1656. (A/1, f. 308 ; A/19, f. 31.)

Clark, Richard. Ballymoren or Ballinowen (Prec. Athlone), 1656 ; *tithes of Castletown, Conry, and Disert* (W.-Meath), added 1660. (A/22, f. 12 a ; A/25, f. 257.)

A. Clarke, Robert. Galway, 1652 ; Offerlane (Queen's Co.), 1658. (A/22, f. 11 ; A/57, f. 114 ; A/58, f. 232.)

Clayton (*Clopton*), *Rouse. Buttevant and Doneraile, to which were added Farrahy and Templeroan*, 1660. (A/25, f. 345.)

Clement, John. Castledermot, 1657 ; drowned at sea before Sept. 1659. (A/22, f. 11.)

E. Coffey, Thomas. Finglas, 1651 ; Bs. Ballyrowan and Ballyboy (King's Co.), C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 26 ; A/57, f. 28.)

Cole, Joseph. Ballinasloe, 1658 ; *tithes of Aughrim and several other parishes added* 1660. (A/22, f. 13 ; A/25, ff. 281, 359 a.)

A. Coleman, John. Cork, C.L. 1654 ; St. Peter's, Cork, 1658, and possibly earlier. (A/25, f. 167 ; A/33, f. 34.)

Cooke, Roger. Rathvilly (Carlow), 1659. (A/22, f. 11.)

P. Cornwall, Gabriel. Ballywillan (Antrim), 1655. (A/5, f. 289.)

Cottle, Charles. Ringsend (Dublin), 1653. (A/1, f. 37.)

Courtney, John. Kilcomen (B. Kilmaine, Mayo), 1660. (A/25, f. 326.)

Cox (Cock), John. Thomastown (Kilkenny), 1655. (A/9, f. 103.)

P. Cox, Samuel. Athlone, 1655; St. Catherine's, Dublin, *pro tem.*, apparently early in 1657, but remained there. (A/19, f. 31; A/20, f. 26; A/22, f. 10 a.)

P. Craighead, Robert. Donaghmore (Donegal), 1658. (A/22, f. 14 a.)

P. Crawford, Thomas. Donegore (Antrim), 1656. (A/22, f. 13 a.)

E. Creighton, George. Glenawly and Drumlane (Prec. Belturbet), C.L. 1655; *tithes of Killnawly and Killesar*, 1660. (A/19, f. 33; A/25, f. 362.)

Cripps, John. B. Coonagh (Limk.), 1659. (A/22, f. 12 a.)

E. Crofton, Thomas. Roscommon, 1654. (A/1, f. 197.)

Crooke, Charles. Fethard (Tipp.), C.L. 1654; Carlow, 1656. (A/22, f. 11; A/33, f. 34.)

P. Crooks (Crewx, Cruix), William. Ballykelly (Derry), 1656. (A/2, f. 255; A/22, f. 14.)

P. Crookshanks, John. Raphoe, 1657. (A/22, f. 14.)

Crookshanks, John. Mountmellick, 1656; B. Stradbally (Queen's Co.) later; *Killane and Grange* (Dio. Clonfert), 1660. (A/2, f. 77; A/22, f. 11; A/25, ff. 322 a, 369 a.)

Cull, John.[1] St. Kevin's, Dublin in 1653; Kildare or Athy, C.L. 1654; Athy and Carlow, April 1654; Kildare before Dec. 1656; Carlow, Nov.–Dec. 1656. (A/1, ff. 153, 190; A/2, f. 482; A/22, f. 11; A/33, f. 32; A/58, f. 388.)

P. Cunningham, Hugh. Ray (Donegal), 1654. (A/1, f. 191.)

P. Cunningham, Robert. Broadisland (Antrim), 1655. (A/5, f. 289.)

Curray (Curragh), Daniel. Naas, 1658; *Nenagh*, 1660. (A/22, f. 10 a; A/25, f. 213.)

Dalton, John. Dungarvan, 1658. (A/91, f. 113.)

Dancer, John. Wexford, C.L. 1656. (A/19, f. 25.)

E. Daniel, Godfrey. Irish preaching, 1652; Tully (Prec. Dublin), 1657. (A/22, f. 10 a; A/58, f. 13.)

E. Darragh, Owen. Prec. Limerick, 1654; Bunratty, C.L. 1656. (A/1, f. 319; A/20, f. 25.)

Davenport, Ralph. Loughgall (Armagh), 1658. (A/22, f. 31.)

Deakin, William. Enniscorthy, but susp. 1654. (A/85, f. 91.)

P. Denner, Robert. Connor, 1658. (A/22, f. 31.)

E. Digby, Essex. Belfast, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 37.)

A. Dix, William. Carlow, 1653; Belfast, *circa* 1655; Derryaghy, C.L. 1656. (A/1, f. 8; A/20, f. 28; A/22, f. 13 a.)

[1] The references to him in the original are given in a very confused manner, but he seems to have ministered in the above three towns.

E. Dodwell, Henry. Killucan, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 21.)
P. Douglas, John. Braid (Antrim), 1657. (A/22, f. 31.)
E. Downham, James. Prec. Derry, C.L. 1654; Moville, 1657. (A/22, f. 14; A/33, f. 38.)
Draper, John. Prec. Clonmel, C.L. 1655; preacher to garrisons in Co. Tipperary, 1656; susp. later. (A/19, f. 27; A/20, f. 24.)
P. Drisdaile, John. Portaferry (Down), 1655. (A/5, f. 289.)
P. Drummond (Drumman), Thomas. Prec. Derry, 1654: Ramelton (Donegal), C.L. 1656. (A/1, f. 191; A/20, f. 30.)
Dunbar, Joseph. Aghalee and Aghagallon (Antrim), 1658; *u.p. Ballinderry* added 1660; *Ballintemple and other ps.* (in Longford ?), later in 1660. (A/25, ff. 243, 376; A/19, f. 108.)
E. Duncan, Patrick. Prec. Belfast, C.L. 1654; Hillsborough, removed to Drumgallen, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 28; A/33, f. 37.)

Eaton, John. Carrickmacross; Inishkeen and Donaghmoyne added later in 1660. (A/25, f. 282.)
E. Echlin, Robert. Strangford, 1655; *Ballyculler and Kililisse* (Ballyculter and Kilclief, Down ?), in or before 1660. (A/5, f. 162; A/25, f. 369.)
Edwards, Jonathan. Drumgoon (Cavan), 1657; Navan, 1658. (A/22, f. 13; A/91, f. 102.)
Edwards, Samuel. Athboy, 1658. (A/91, f. 61.)
Egerton, William. Shinrone (King's Co.), 1660. (A/25, f. 245.)
Esthorp, Reuben. Galway, 1656. (A/22, f. 13.)
Eyres, Joseph. Christchurch, Cork, 1653. (A/84, f. 273.)

E. Fearful (Fairful), David. Loughinisland and Drumadee (Down), 1657. (A/13, f. 5; A/22, f. 13 a.)
E. Fercher (Ferchur), George. Ballyshannon, C.L. 1655; died shortly after. (A/19, f. 35.)
Ferris (or Harris), Herbert. Clonbronagh (Longford), 1658. (A/22, f. 12 a.)
Fitzgerald, Richard. Dungarvan, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 34.)
E. FitzSimons, Philemon. Irish preaching in Connaught, 1658; Prec. Cork, 1659. (A/14, f. 175; A/25, f. 174; A/91, f. 47.)
E. Flawne (Flanne), Jeremy. Killashee and Templemichael (Longford), 1658. (A/91, f. 100.)
P. Fleming, James. Glenarm, 1658. (A/91, f. 107.)
P Fleming, John. Ballee (Down), 1657. (A/20, f. 29.)
Forbes, Arthur. Location not given, 1660. (A/25, f. 252.)

P. ? Forsyth (Forsith), Gawen. Killachty (Prec. Derry), 1655 or 1656; Ballymackelly (Donegal), C.L. 1657–9; *almost all B. Boylagh and Bannagh* (Donegal), 1660. (A/1, f. 367; A/20, f. 30; A/25, f. 262.)

Francis, Thomas. Castledermot, 1660. (A/25, f. 268.)

Freestone, John. Dunmore, Lisberry, and Adergoole (Galway), July, 1660; *Athy*, Sept. 1660. (A/25, ff. 260, 329.)

E. Fullerton, Robert. Ballymore (Longford), C.L. 1655; Shrule (Longford ?), C.L. 1656; *Tithes of Ardagh, Forgney, Taghshinny, and other parishes in Longford*, 1660. (A/19, f. 31; A/20, f. 26; A/25, f. 320.)

E. Fullerton, William. Prec. Belfast, 1654; Derrykeighan (Antrim), 1657. (A/22, f. 13 a; A/33, f. 37.)

P. Fulton, Thomas. Drumachose (Derry), 1656. (A/1, f. 361.)

Gilbert, Claudius. Limerick, 1652; St. Michael's, Dublin, end of 1658. (A/57, f. 193; A/91, f. 72; Lansd. MSS. 823, f. 177.)

Gillett, William. Dungannon, 1656; Ballyroan (Queen's Co.), 1658. (A/22, f. 14; A/91, f. 46.)

Gillice (Gillis, Gillin), William. Kildallan (Prec. Belturbet), 1656; *Killaine, Knockbree, and Enniskeen* (Cavan and Meath), 1660. (A/22, f. 13, A/25, f. 367.)

Gilliver, Thomas. Location not given, 1660. (A/25, f. 344 b.)

E. ? Glasgoe (Glasgow), Archibald. Faughanvale (Derry), 1654; *assistant at Taboyne* (Donegal), 1660. (A/1, f. 281; A/25, f. 390 b.)

Godly, ——. Co. Kerry, 1654 (appointment apparently cancelled). (A/1, f. 40.)

Golborne, John. Reader in Christ Church, Dublin, 1659; *Carbery* (Carbury, Co. Kildare), 1660. (A/25, ff. 168, 255.)

E. Good, Humphrey. Prec. Wexford, 1654; Enniscorthy, C.L. 1655. (A/1, f. 41; A/19, f. 25.)

Goodman, Thomas. Macroom, 1657. (A/22, f. 12.)

Goodwin, Nathaniel. Roscrea, 1657; Monasteroris (King's Co.), 1658. (A/22, ff. 12, 12 a.)

P. Gordon, James. Comber (Down), 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/30, f. 28.)

P. Gowan, Thomas. Donnogh and Errigal (Monaghan), 1658; Clogher (Tyrone), 1659 (apparently cancelled, as he held the first two in 1660). (A/25, f. 242; A/91, ff. 75, 184.)

Graffan, Hugh. Irish preaching in Ulster, 1653; Prec. Belfast, C.L. 1654; Magheradeill (?), Prec. Belfast, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 28; A/33, f. 37; A/58, f. 495.)

E. *Graham, James. Kilskeery* (Tyrone), 1660. (A/25, ff. 241, 279.)

P. Greg, John. Newtownards, 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/20, f. 28.)
Grey (Gray), Enoch. Assisting at preaching in Christ Church, Dublin, 1658. (A/17, ff. 5, 70.)
E. Gunn, George. Chapelizod, C.L. 1654; Prec. Dublin, but apparently not at any particular place, C.L. 1655. (A/1, f. 378; A/19, f. 19; A/33, f. 31.)
E. Gunn, Hugh. Chapelizod, C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 19.)

E.? Hall, John. Shandon (Cork), C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 24; A/22, f. 12.)
E.? Hall, John.[1] Clonakilty, C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 27; A/22, f. 12.)
Hall, Matthew. Island of Inishbofin (Mayo), C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 36.)
P. Hall, Thomas. Larne, 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/20, f. 28.)
Hamilton, George. Devenish (Fermanagh), C.L. 1656; *Beagh* added 1660. (A/20, f. 27; A/25, f. 244.)
Hamilton, James. Athleague (Roscommon), 1656; *held Fuerty in* 1660, *to which two other ps. were then added.* (A/22, f. 12 a; A/25, f. 244.)
P. Hamilton, John. Donaghedy (Tyrone), 1658. (A/22, f. 14 a.)
P. Hamilton, Robert. Killead (Antrim), C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 29.)
Handsor (Handser), John. Carrick-on-Suir, C.L. 1654; Knocktopher, C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 23; A/33, f. 34.)
E. Hannah, Hugh. Knock (Meath), 1656. (A/2, f. 482.)
Hardy, David. Ballinderry (Antrim), June 1658; died Dec. following. (A/22, f. 30.)
Hardy, Ehud. Drogheda, but susp. Dec. 1655. (A/11, ff. 85, 143.)
Harrison, Cuthbert. Shankhill with Lurgan, 1657; *Tullamain and Tubbrid* (Tipp.), added 1660. (A/16, f. 65 a; A/22, f. 13 a; A/25, f. 314.)
I. N.E. Harrison, Thomas. St. John's, Dublin, July 1655; Christ Church, Sept. 1655. (A/5, f. 204; A/9, f. 157; A/19, f. 19.)
Harrison, William. Tanderagee after Jan. 1659; susp. following July. (A/15, f. 75 a; A/17, f. 13; A/25, f. 224.)
P. Hart (Heart), John. Taboyne, 1656. (A/26, f. 193.)
Hasleam, Richard. Prec. Galway, 1657. (A/22, f. 13.)
Hatton (Hatten), Henry. Newburgh (Newbridge?) and Tomduff (Wexford), 1658. (A/91, f. 105.)
E. Hethershall, Henry. Drumahaire, 1657. (A/22, f. 12 a.)
Hickes, John. Ballyroan (Queen's Co.), 1656; subsequently went to England. (A/22, f. 11.)

[1] The one of these who was accused of using the Prayer-Book was ordered to Mallow in 1655 (A/8, f. 334); it appears that this was not carried out, yet see A/33, f. 34.

Hickes, Thomas. Drogheda, C.L. 1654; Ballinasloe after July 1655; Stillorgan and other places in B. Rathdrum (Dublin), 1659. (A/5, f. 79; A/33, f. 32; A/91, f. 180.)

E. Hickey, Galatius. Irish preaching in Clonmel, and assisting S. Ladyman, 1658. (A/22, f. 12.)

Highmore, Robert. Leighlinbridge, 1655. (A/1, f. 380; A/25, f. 305.)

Hill, Samuel. Derry, 1654 (apparently cancelled). (A/1, f. 200; A/19, f. 35.)

Hillen (Hillon), Francis. Freshford (Kilkenny), 1658; Castledermot, 1659. (A/91, ff. 116, 174.)

Hobbs, Robert. Temporary duty at Waterford, April 1654; Wexford, C.L. 1654; *tithes of Adamstown and Clonmore added*, 1660. (A/25, f. 221; A/33, f. 33; A/90, f. 667.)

P. Hogsyard, Robert. Ballyrashane (Derry), 1657. (A/22, f. 31.)

Holland, George. Derry, 1654. (A/1, f. 56.)

Hooke, John. Drogheda, 1652; susp. 1655, but there as locum tenens, 1657; settled there as assistant to Dr. Teate, July 1658; also to preach at Dunleer and Holligestown, 1659; *acting at Drogheda*, June 1660. (A/19, f. 21; A/22, f. 30; A/25, f. 246; A/57, f. 145; A/91, ff. 45, 78.)

Hopborne, John. Dromore (Donegal), 1660. (A/25, ff. 216, 290.)

Hopton, Morgan.[1] *St. Michael's, Dublin*, 1660. (A/25, f. 387 a.)

Hopwood, Richard. Maynooth, 1655; Glenogra (Limk.), 1657; dead by 1659. (A/8, f. 151; A/19, f. 19; A/22, f. 12 a.)

How, Daniel. Ballinasloe, removed to Ennis, 1658. (A/91, f. 28.)

How, Edward. Charlemont, 1658; Co. Monaghan on tithes later. (A/22, f. 31.)

E. Hoyle, Nathaniel. Bullock (Dublin), 1654. (IC. 8c. 128, f. 196.)

N.E. Hubberd (Hobart), Joshua. New Ross as locum tenens, *circa* 1656. (A/20, f. 23.)

Huetson, Robert. Rathfriland (Down), 1657. (A/22, f. 13 a.)

I. Huggin, Thomas. St. Thomas's, Dublin, Nov. 1651; chaplain to Colonel Hewson's regiment in 1653. (A/58, f. 332; A/82, f. 68.)

Hull, John. Baltimore (Cork), 1658; left for England next year. (A/25, ff. 130, 165.)

A.? Hunt, John. Maryborough, 1653; Gowran, C.L. 1655. (A/1, f. 4; A/19, f. 23.)

P. *Hunter, Henry. Desired by some of the parishioners of Dromore*

[1] He was made a Prebendary of Christ Church before February 1661 (same ref.).

(*Donegal*), *but apparently not settled there*, 1660 (see Hopborne). (A/25, f. 216.)

P. Hutcheson (Hutchinson), Alexander. Tonachnimon (Donegal), 1659. (A/22, f. 31.)

Hutchinson, Edward. Chaplain to Colonel Abbott's regiment in 1653. (A/1, f. 22.)

E. *Ives, Thomas. Oughterard, Whitechurch, Castledelon, and Castlelyons* (Cork ?), 1660. (A/25, f. 377.)

P. Jack, William. Aghadowey, 1655; Clongish (Longford), 1659; *Rathcline* (Longford), added 1660. (A/5, f. 289; A/22, f. 12 a; A/25, f. 340.)

Jeffcoate, Jacob. Kilbexy-street and Rushey (Rushwee, Meath), 1660. (A/25, f. 379 a.)

I. Jenner, Thomas. Drogheda as locum tenens, Oct. 1656; apparently at Limerick, end of 1656; Carlow, 1658; chaplain to a Brigade going to England, 1659. (A/10, f. 197; A/16, f. 35; A/22, f. 11; A/91, f. 38.)

E. Jones, Ambrose. Kells (Meath), Dec. 1654. (A/28, f. 48.)

Jones, John. Seagoe (Armagh), 1657 (see Barnes). (A/22, f. 13 a.)

Jones, Richard. Bunratty, 1660 ? (A/25, f. 387.)

Jones, Samuel. Prec. Galway, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 36.)

Johnson, Thomas. Dromore, Lurgan, and Loughbrickland (Armagh and Down), 1654. (A/1, f. 121.)

P. Johnston, James. Lisnaskea, 1655. (A/1, f. 353.)

Johnston, James. Turlough (Mayo), 1657. (A/22, f. 13.)

Keeth, Alexander. Newtown (Fermanagh), 1657. (A/22, f. 13.)

P. *Keith* (*Keeth*), *George. Dungannon*, 1660. (A/25, f. 241.)

P. Kennedy, Anthony. Templepatrick, 1657. (A/22, f. 31.)

P. Ker (Carr), James. Ballymoney (Antrim), 1654. (Ic. 8c. 128, f. 51.)

Kerr, John. Monaghan, 1656. (A/22, f. 13.)

E. Kerr, Patrick. Dartry (Monaghan) and Galone (Fermanagh), 1658. (A/22, f. 13.)

P. Keyes, William. Strabane, 1659. (A/91, f. 182.)

Kirke, Thomas. Reader in Christ Church, Dublin, 1660. (A/25, f. 237.)

A. Knight, James. Limerick, C.L. 1654; Dingle, 1658. (A/22, f. 11 a; A/33, f. 35.)

Ladyman, Samuel. Clonmel, 1652; did temporary duty at Waterford in 1654. (A/56, f. 88; A/90, f. 667.)

Lambe, Thomas. Late chaplain to Colonel Hunkes's regiment, preached in Ulster in and before 1652. (A/57, f. 227.)

E. Lambert, Thomas. Dromiskin (Louth), 1658. (A/22, f. 30.)
Lang, James. Killashandra (Cavan), C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 33.)
Lang (Laing, Laying, Long), John. Ballymote, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 36.)
Law, Andrew. Prec. Belfast, 1654; Dundrum, Kilmore, and Loughinisland (Down), 1656. At one time chaplain to General Monck at Drogheda. (A/1, f. 69; A/26, f. 202; A/86, f. 21.)
P. Law, John. Desertoghill and Errigal (Derry), 1658. (A/91, ff. 74–5.)
E. Lecky, Robert. Abbey of Tristernagh (W.-Meath), C.L. 1656. Dead before June 1660; father to William Lecky. (A/20, f. 26; A/25, f. 232.)
P. Lecky, William. Dunboyne, 1655. (A/6, ff. 117, 279.)
Leigh, Humphrey. Ballymackelly (Donegal), C.L. 1654 (said to be at Ballykelly, Co. Derry in A/5, f. 317; A/9, f. 70); Donaghenry (Tyrone), 1656. (A/22, f. 14; A/33, f. 38.)
Leigh, Robert. Newcastle (Limk.), 1654. (A/1, f. 139.)
P. Levingston, James. Finglas, 1675. (A/22, f. 10 a.)
Lills (Lylles), John. Callan, C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 23.)
Lindsey (Linsey), Robert. Prec. Derry, 1654; Killybegs (Donegal), C.L. 1656. (A/1, f. 113; A/20, f. 30.)
Lindsey (Linsey), William. Faughan or Fawne (Donegal, but apparently in Derry), 1654. (A/1, f. 56.)
Littler, Robert. Galway, 1656 (apparently cancelled). (A/26, f. 212.)
P. Livingstone (Levington), Henry. Drumbo (Down), 1657. (A/22, f. 13 a.)
E. Lovelace (Lovelesse), Edward. Rathcool (Dublin) 1657; *had tithes of Saggart as well*, 1660. (A/22, f. 10 a; A/25, f. 313.)

Mace, James. Athy and Kilcullen, 1657; Co. Down on tithes subsequently. (A/22, f. 11; A/25, f. 8.)
Manners, Roger. Loughrea, C.L. 1656; tithes of Loughrea, Bullaun, and other parishes in 1659 or 1660. (A/20, f. 27; A/25, ff. 275, 369, 369 a.)
P. Marcroft (Moorcroft), William. Ardstraw (Tyrone), C.L. 1656; *Bodony* (Tyrone), 1660. (A/20, f. 30; A/25, f. 259.)
Marriott, John. Destitute places in Co. Waterford, 1659. (A/91, f. 191.)
I. Marsden, Jeremiah. Armagh (cancelled), Carlow, 1657. Subsequently went to England. (A/22, ff. 11, 13 a.)
Martin, Alexander. Drumgoon and Killiserdiny (Monaghan). (A/25, f. 229.)

Mascall, John. Mallow, 1656; Cloyne, 1658. (A/26, f. 177; A/91, f. 36.)

I. N.E. Mather, Increase. Ballyshoulin and Magherafelt, 1657. (A/22, f. 14.)

I. N.E. Mather, Samuel. St. Nicholas, Dublin, Feb. 1656; re-appointed Dec. 1658, apparently on account of the dispute that then occurred. (A/5, f. 358; A/91, f. 68.)

Matthews, Matthew. Prec. Cork, C.L. 1654. (A/1, f. 122; A/33, f. 34.)

P. ? Maund (Maud), Clinton. Antrim, C. L. 1656. (A/20, f. 29; but see A/11, f. 304.)

Maxwell, Patrick. U.ps. of Lurgan, Killinkere, and Crosserlogh (Cavan), 1658. (A/25, ff. 101, 232.)

Maxwell, William. Clonmacnoise, 1659; *Moylone, Kinak, Killogally, and Pallas* (King's Co. ?), 1660. (A/22, f. 12 a; A/25, f. 263.)

P. McCormick, Andrew. Magherally (Down), 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/20, f. 28.)

McKenzy, Murdo. Athy, 1653; Roscommon on tithes after 1657, but apparently cancelled. (A/22, f. 11; A/25, f. 195; A/58, f. 445.)

E. McNeale, Daniel. Ballycastle (Antrim), 1653. (A/1, f. 37.)

E. Meyler, James. Stramullen (B. Duleek, Meath), 1656. (A/26, f. 195.)

E. Meyler, Nicholas. Dardistown (Meath), C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 21.)

P. Milne, William. Islandmagee, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 29.)

N.E. Millard, John. Passage (Waterford), C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 25.)

Miller, Timothy. Fethard (Tipp.), removed to Maynooth, 1657. (A/22, ff. 11, 12.)

Moore, William. Knock and Breda (Down), 1654. (A/1, f. 296; A/22, f. 13 a.)

Moore, William. Errigal-Keeroge, C.L. 1657–9. (A/22, f. 14.)

Morton, Nicholas. Mitchelstown, 1657. (A/22, f. 12.)

Muckle, Roger. Carlow, C.L. 1655. (A/2, f. 368; A/19, f. 23.)

Munday, George. Castlejordan and Ballyburly (Meath), 1657; *Kilclonfert* added 1660. (A/22, f. 11; A/25, f. 267.)

I. Murcot, John. 'Michael's over the water' (St. Michan's, Dublin), Nov. 1651. Described as preacher at St. Audoen's, Sept. 1653. (A/82, f. 68; *Par. Reg. Soc.* iii, p. 13.)

Nearne, John. Gorey (and perhaps Arklow), removed to Maglass and Rathmacknee (Wexford), 1658. (A/22, f. 11 a; A/91, f. 101.)

Nelson, ——. Itinerant preaching in Prec. Dublin, 1654. (A/1, f. 240.)

E. Newton, John. Apparently in Cork city up to 1656, at Timoleague in 1657, removed to Cloyne, 1659. (A/22, f. 12 ; A/30, f. 258.)

Neyland (Newland), Daniel.[1] Lucan, 1654. (A/1, f. 212.)

E. Nicolet, Charles. Bandon, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 24.)

Nicholls, Robert. Skreen (Meath), 1654. (A/1, f. 145.)

E. Nodham, Arthur. Kilkeel with three chapelries of Killinegan, Kilcow, and Tawlaght (Down), 1658 or 1659. (A/25, f. 261.)

Norbury, Robert. Temporary duty for Birdsall in B. Newcastle (Dublin), 1659. (A/22, f. 10 a.)

Norcott, John. Mallow, 1658. (A/22, f. 12.)

Oldfold, Geoffrey. B. Shillelogher (Kilkenny), C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 22.)

Oliver, William. Clondalkin, Maynooth, and other places, 1654. (A/1, f. 266 ; A/19, f. 19.)

P. O'Quin, Jeremy. To be removed from Ulster, Nov. 1651 ; to go to Athy, May 1654 ; to preach in Irish in Connaught (Athlone and Loughrea), July 1654 ; still at Billy (Antrim), C.L. 1654 ; to preach in Irish in Connaught, July 1655 ; apparently returned to Billy until his death in 1657. (A/1, f. 254 ; A/5, f. 212 ; A/25, f. 100 ; A/33, f. 37 ; A/85, f. 423 ; A/89, f. 202.)

P. Osburne, Alexander. Ballyclog (Tyrone), 1659. (A/91, f. 182.)

Osmington (Osmanton), Thomas. New Ross, C.L. 1654 ; went to England in 1656. (A/33, f. 33.)

E. Padfeild, John. Kilrush (Clare), 1657 ; also preached to scattered Protestants in Bs. Moyarta, Clonderalaw, Ibrickan, and Corcumroe, as there was no other minister. (A/22, f. 12 a ; A/25, f. 364 a.)

Parkinson, Edward. Ardee, 1656. (A/22, f. 30.)

Parsons, Thomas. St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, 1660. (A/25, f. 221.)

Partridge, Nathaniel. St. Catherine's, Dublin, 1654 ; apparently away as Army chaplain by July 1656. (A/1, f. 279.)

A. N.E. Patient (Patience), Thomas.[2] Kilkenny in 1650 ; Waterford in 1651 ; to preach in his turn on Sundays at Christ Church, Dublin, Dec. 1652 ; ditto at weekly lecture, July 1655. (A/5, f. 202 ; A/82, f. 464 ; Milton's S. P., pp. 6–7 ; *Challah*, p. 302 ff.)

[1] He is said to have been elected minister of St. Michan's in 1659–60 (*Par. Reg. Soc.*, iii, pref. p. vi).

[2] He is included in this list for the sake of completeness, though there is no evidence that he received at any time a salary from the Government.

P. Peebles, Hugh. Aghaloo (Tyrone), 1657. (A/22, f. 14.)
P. Peebles, Thomas. Creckdonnell (? Dundonald, Down), 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/20, f. 28.)
Peirce (Peares), Dudley. Portumna, 1654. (A/1, f. 172.)
Peirce, Nicholas. Mallow, 1654; susp. about 1657. (A/1, f. 83.)
Pettard, Humphrey. Loughgall (Armagh), 1658. (A/15, f. 70.)
Portman, William. Boyle, 1653; also preached at Athlone and other remote parts. (A/1, f. 379; A/58, f. 323.)
Powell, Richard. Timoleague, 1657. (A/22, f. 12.)
Price, Edward. Prec. Dublin, C.L. 1654, but a note says 'gone to preach to ye pty. [Presbytery ?] in Scotland'. (A/33, f. 31.)
Price, Edward. B. Iffa and Offa (Tipp.), 1655; Cahir, 1656; Freshford later; susp. 1658. (A/5, f. 362; A/9, f. 263; A/22, f. 11.)
Price, Henry. B. Kenry (Limk.) for six months on probation, 1659. (A/25, f. 166; A/91, f. 87.)
Price, John. B. Newcastle (Dublin), 1656; also at Swords and other places near the city; *at Kildroughed* (? Kildare), *and has tithes of Leixlip and Confey added*, 1660. (A/1, f. 383; A/25, f. 244; A/26, f. 174.)

P. Ramsey, Gilbert. Bangor, 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/20, f. 28.)
Ramsey, John. Tullow, 1656. (A/2, f. 291.)
Read, Alexander. At Clonmore (Louth), in or before 1660. (A/14, f. 118; A/25, f. 301.)
A. Read, John. Belturbet, 1654; apparently susp. following year. (A/1, f. 223.)
Reddington, Francis. Clonallan and Kilbroney (Down), 1658. (A/91, f. 22.)
Reynolds, Edward. Kilmallock, 1653. (IC. 8c. 125, f. 6.)
P. Richardson, William. Killyleagh (Down), 1655. (A/5, f. 289; A/20, f. 28.)
P. Richmond, Donald. Hollywood (Down), 1656. (A/26, f. 215.)
P. Roberts, Francis. St. Werburgh's, Dublin, probably 1656. (A/20, f. 20; A/22, f. 10 a; A/25, f. 135.)
Robertson, Andrew. At Stradbally in 1660. (A/25, f. 286.)
Robertson (Robinson), George. Rathmacknee and other u. ps. adjoining (Wexford), 1658. (A/91, f. 116.)
Roe (Row, Rowe), Peter. Naas, C.L. 1654; voluntarily suspended June 1657. (A/22, f. 10 a; A/33, f. 31.)
I. Rogers, John. In Dublin, Aug. 1651; at Christ Church. (A/57, f. 3; Rogers's *Life*, p. 28.)
Roper, Richard. Dungarvan, 1656; dead before March 1658. (A/2, f. 267.)

Rouse, Jacob. Rathmichael and Bray (Dublin and Wexford), March 1658 ; town of Wicklow, Dec. 1658. (A/22, f. 10 a ; A/91, f. 70.)

P. Rowan (Rowand, Rowland), Robert. Maghera, 1658 ; Killileagh and Termoneeny (Derry), 1659. (A/91, ff. 75, 80.)

Rowles (Rolls, Rolles), Daniel.[1] Swords, 1654 ; St. Bride's, Dublin, about Dec. 1657 ; Chaplain to Colonel Sadleir's regt. in 1654 ; *Gowran* (Kilkenny), 1660. (A/1, ff. 137, 229 ; A/22, f. 10 a ; A/25, f. 345 a.)

Royse, Henry. Assistant to G. Holland at Derry, 1658. (A/22, f. 14.)

E. Rugg, Henry. Preacher to wounded soldiers in hospital at Cork, July 1652. (A/57, f. 263.)

Rumney, Simon. Tralee, 1656. (A/9, ff. 339, 359.)

Scott, Joseph. Tallaght (Dublin), 1654. (A/1, f. 266.)

Scott, Richard. Ferns, 1656. (A/2, f. 24.)

Seager, Richard. Mountmellick, C.L. 1656; *Strabo* (Stradbally ?) *and another parish in Queen's Co.* (?), 1660. (A/20, f. 22 ; A/25, f. 245.)

P. Semple, William. Lagan, 1654. (A/1, f. 126.)

E. Sharp, Alexander. Tecroghan, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 32.)

P. Shaw, Anthony. Ballywalter (Down), 1658. (A/91, f. 107.)

P. Shaw, James. Carnmoney, 1658. (A/91, f. 31.)

P. Shaw, John. Machrishohell (Ahogill, Antrim), 1658. (A/22, f. 31 ; A/91, f. 107.)

Shaw, John. Aran Is. (Galway), 1657. (A/22, f. 13 ; A/25, f. 24.)

Shedow (Sheidon), Robert. Enniskillen, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 27.)

Shepherd, John. Officiated in Tipperary last quarter of 1659, and in Galway first quarter of 1660. (A/25, f. 218.)

E. Sheridan, Denis. Carrigallen (Leitrim), 1657. (A/22, f. 30.)

Sheridan, William. Donaghpatrick, Clongell, Drakestown, and Teltown (Meath), 1660. (A/25, f. 329.)

Sherrard, (Sherwood), Hope. Down, 1658 ; Armagh, 1659 ; *to be settled at Kilmore* (Armagh) at Michaelmas, 1660. (A/22, f. 31 ; A/25, ff. 137, 280.)

Simmons (Simons, Symonds), James. Naul and Hollywood (Dublin), March 1658 ; Saggart, June 1658 ; Graigue (-namanagh, Kilkenny), 1659. (A/16, f. 32 ; A/22, f. 10 a ; A/91, f. 97.)

P. Simpson, Gilbert. Ballyclare (Antrim), 1655. (A/5, f. 289 ; A/20, f. 29.)

[1] His appointment to Gowran seems to have been a mistake, as the rector, Nicholas Meyler, was restored to it in August 1660. The two were disputing about the tithes in November (A/25, ff. 301, 345 a).

Skelton (Skelson), Thomas. Prec. Belfast, C.L., 1654 ; Newry, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 28 ; A/33, f. 37.)

Smith, John. Morgallion (Meath), 1658 ; said to be subsequently settled on tithes in Queen's Co. (A/22, f. 30.)

Smith, Josias. Reader at Christ Church in 1658 ; Ballymore (Ballymote ?), Sligo, 1659. (A/25, ff. 49, 168.)

N.E. Smith, Zephaniah. Roscrea before middle of 1656 ; to be sent to Queen's Co., Aug. 1656, but apparently not done ; B. Corkaree (W.-Meath), 1659. (A/20, f. 24 ; A/30, f. 173 ; A/91, f. 171.)

Spencer, Nathaniel. Thomastown (Kilkenny), 1657 ; *Blackrath* (Dio. Ossory), 1660. (A/22, f. 11 ; A/25, f. 356.)

E. Spratt, Devereux. Mitchelstown, 1657 ; Galbally (Limk.), 1658 ; u.ps. of Ballinlondry, Ballingarry, Ballyscaddane, and Knocklong added later. (A/22, ff. 12, 12 a ; A/25, f. 264.)

Sprigg, Richard. B. Owneybeg (Limk.), 1658. (A/22, f. 12 a.)

E. ? Stearne, James. B. Fore (W.-Meath), 1656. (A/11, f. 151 ; A/22, f. 12 a.)

Stephens, John. Ballingarry and Modreeny (Tipp.), 1658 ; *Galway city*, May 1660 ; *Warden of Galway*, 1660. (A/25, ff. 229, 315 ; A/91, f. 102.)

Stephenson, Samuel.[1] Kells and Nobber (Meath), Jan. 1654. (A/1, f. 59.)

P. Stewart, Andrew. Donaghadee, 1655. (A/5, f. 289 ; A/20, f. 28.)

E. Stowell, Jonas. Kinsale, 1655. (A/1, f. 319.)

Stringer, Ralph. Kildare, 1656 ; Ballymore-Eustace, 1657 ; *at Moone* (Kildare) in Jan. 1661. (A/22, ff. 10 a, 11 ; A/25, ff. 378–9.)

Sumervill, John. Ballyclare (Antrim), 1653. (A/1, f. 11.)

Sumptner, Charles. Chaplain to Colonel Prittie's regiment in 1657. (A/13, f. 11 a.)

Swaldon (Swalden), William. Carlingford, 1657. (A/22, f. 31 ; A/91, f. 29.)

A. Tandy, Philip. Lisburn, 1658. (A/22, f. 31.)

I. Taylor, Timothy. Carrickfergus, before Oct. 1651. (A/33, f. 37 ; A/57, f. 18 ; A/89, f. 144.)

E. Teate, Faithful. Drogheda, 1658. (A/91, f. 37.)

Teate, Faithful, *junior*. Limerick, 1659 ; *St. Werburgh's, Dublin*, 1660. (A/22, f. 12 a ; A/25, ff. 228, 386.)

Teate, Joseph. Drogheda, 1654 ; Kilkenny, 1655. (A/5, f. 300 ; A/19, f. 21 ; A/85, f. 542.)

[1] He can only have held Kells until December, when Ambrose Jones was appointed.

Thompson, John. Collooney, 1656. (A/26, f. 221.)

Thompson, Patrick. Blarney, 1658; *seems to have held Bruhenny or Ballintemple* (Cork), in 1660. (A/25, f. 373; A/91, f. 60.)

N.E. Thornton, Thomas (or Robert). Six-mile-bridge (probably Clare), C.L. 1654; Galbally (Limk.), before Dec. 1656; Cahirconlish (Limk.), *circa* 1657. (A/2, f. 496; A/22, f. 12 a; A/33, f. 35.)

Threlfall, James. Kilmore (Armagh), 1656; res. at Michaelmas, 1660. (A/2, f. 243; A/25, f. 280.)

Toy, Thomas. Tallaght (Dublin), 1657. (A/22, f. 10 a.)

Vance, Hugh. Roote-Quarters, 1653. (A/58, f. 440.)

I. Veale, Edward. Dunboyne, 1655; Clonsilla (Dublin), 1659. (A/6, ff. 117, 279; A/91, f. 81.)

E. Vesey, Thomas. Coleraine, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 37.)

Vincent, William. Kilcock (Kildare), 1659. (A/25, f. 358 a.)

Wade, Edward. Kilworth, 1657. (A/22, f. 12.)

Wale (Wayle, Wall), Edward. Waterford, 1652. (A/56, f. 106.)

E. Walker, Ithell. Cloghamon (Prec, Wexford), 1656. (A/9, f. 266; A/20, f. 23.)

P. Wallace, James. Urney (Tyrone), 1654; preaching tour in Connaught with O'Quin, July 1655. (A/1, f. 191; A/5, f. 212.)

Wallace, Matthew. Kilglass (Roscommon or Sligo), 1657. (A/22, f. 13.)

E. Waller, Adam. Carna (Wexford), 1658. (A/91, f. 25.)

Walver, Abraham. Maglass (Wexford), C.L. 1654; removed to Co. Galway before June 1658. (A/20, f. 23; A/33, f. 33; A/91, f. 101.)

Walwood, John. Glenavy (Antrim), C.L. 1654; on tithes of Orney, Killinore, Anagilliffe, and Dine, 1659. (A/25, f. 234; A/33, f. 37.)

Ward, Anthony. Cahir and other garrisons, 1653; Cashel, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 34; A/58, f. 214.)

Wasse, Robert. Drumaheir, Killasnat, Rossno, and Newtown (Leitrim), 1657. (A/22, f. 12 a.)

Watson, Henry. Preacher to garrisons in Prec. Clonmel, 1655. (IC. 8c. 128, f. 241; A/20, f. 24.)

Watson, Henry. Glenogra (Limk.), 1658. (A/20, f. 25; A/91, f. 34.)

E. Watson, James. Magheralin, 1655; Loughgilly (Armagh), 1659. (A/8, f. 268; A/15, f. 107 a.)

Watson, John. Wicklow, 1657. (A/22, f. 10 a.)

Watson, William. Prec. Derry, 1654; Kilbarron, subsequently Stranorlar (Donegal), before Dec. 1657; *Inishmacsaint*

and Templecarne (Fermanagh) in 1660. (A/1, f. 120; A/22, f. 14; A/25, f. 283.)

Webb, Joshua. Paid for preaching at Carrick-on-Suir, and discharged, Feb. 1653. (A/58, f. 191.)

Webbe, Ezechiel. Athlone *pro tem.* from Dec. 1656; still there in 1660. (A/22, f. 12 a; A/25, f. 332.)

Weir (Ware), David. Carrickmacross, 1658. (A/22, f. 13 A/91, f. 112.)

I. N.E. Weld (Wells, Wild), Edmund. Apparently first at Kinsale; Bandon, Sept. 1655; St. Finbarr's, Cork, May 1656. (A/19, f. 27 (2 allusions); A/26, f. 208.)

E. Werrall, Robert. Arklow, 1659; *Kilbride and Killahurler* added 1660. (A/25, ff. 276, 383.)

West, Barnham. Kilwarlin (Down), 1656; at Hillsborough in 1659. (A/2, f. 283; A/16, f. 13.)

Whitcombe, Robert. Killtachoan (Gaulskill, B. Ida, Kilkenny), 1658. (A/91, f. 103.)

P. White, Adam. Clandevadoch (Donegal), C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 30.)

Whittingham, Humphrey. Six-mile-bridge (probably Clare), 1656; *Ogashin* (Clare), 1660. (A/22, f. 12 a; A/25, f. 363 a.)

Wilkinson, Adam. Taghmon and Clongeen (Wexford), 1657. (A/22, f. 11 a.)

Wilkinson, John. Prec. Galway, C.L. 1654; Sligo, C.L. 1655. (A/19, f. 31; A/33, f. 36.)

Wilkinson, Thomas. Dublin before Oct. 1651; St. Werburgh's, C.L. 1655; St. Catherine's as locum tenens, Jan. 1656; Swords, July 1657. (A/8, f. 374; A/19, f. 19; A/22, f. 10 a; A/57, f. 39.)

P. Wills, John. Clandermot (Derry), in 1657. (A/22, f. 14.)

A. ? Wilsby (Wilsbie), William. Co. Kerry, C.L. 1654; Kilkenny, C.L. 1655; Ballyraggett (Kilkenny, apparently only occasional ministering), March 1659. (A/19, f. 23; A/33, f. 35; A/91, f. 83.)

P. Wilson, Hugh. Knock and Breda (Down), 1659. (A/91, f. 190.)

Wilson, Nicholas. New Ross, 1652. (A/57, f. 99.)

P. Wilson, Robert. Termonmagawley (Tyrone), 1658. (A/91, f. 75.)

Wilson, ——. Co. Kerry, C.L. 1654. (A/33, f. 35.)

I. Winter, Samuel. Sunday preaching in his turn at Christ Church, Dec. 1652; similar order, July 1655; afternoon preaching at same, Feb. 1656; at St. Nicholas' before Aug. 1654; his congregation was to worship in portion of

Christ Church in 1659. (A/5, ff. 205, 358; A/16, f. 30; A/82, f. 464; A/85, f. 543.)

I. Winter, Samuel, *junior*. Clondalkin, 1654; alleged (incorrectly) to have been settled on tithes at Kilcock in 1659. (A/1, f. 159; A/25, f. 192.)

Winterbourne, Nicholas. Enniskeen (Cork), 1657. (A/22, f. 12.)

Withicombe, ——. Location not named in 1659. (A/16, f. 6.)

I. Wood, James. Youghal, 1652. (A/58, ff. 48–9.)

Wotton (Wooton), Henry.[1] St. Audoen's, Dublin, Dec. 1652. (A/82, f. 464.)

E. Worth, Edward. Kinsale, C.L. 1656. (A/20, f. 24.)

A. Wyke (Wick, Weekes), Andrew. St. Michan's, Dublin. Aug. 1651; Lisburn, Oct. 1651; to preach as well at Dromore, Lurgan, and Kilwarlin, 1654; u. ps. Donaghcloney and Tullylish (Down), Oct. 1658; to preach as well at Magheralin, Sept. 1659. (A/56, f. 14; A/57, f. 20; A/85, f. 546; A/89, f. 144; A/91, ff. 52, 93.)

E. Young, Alexander. Ennis and adjacent garrisons, 1653; dead before May 1658. (A/84, f. 510.)

Young, Robert. Prec. Derry in or before March 1654; Clonca (Donegal), 1656. (A/1, f. 124; A/22, f. 14.)

MINISTERS INVITED FROM NEW ENGLAND WHO DID NOT ACCEPT

Peter Bulkly
Samuel Whiting
John Knowles
Thomas Corbet
} Letter to O. Cromwell, 1650. (Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iii, letter ccc.)

Comfort Starr. Aug. 1653. (A/90, f. 529.)

John Davenport. Sept. 1654. (A/30, f. 5.)

William Corbett, of Lynn
Peter Bulckley, of Concord
Samuel Stone, of Hertford
} Dec. 1654. (A/30, f. 18.)

Edward Buckley
—— Witherell
—— Raynell
Jeremy Hubberd ?
John Hubbert ?
} Jan. 1656. (A/30, f. 128.)

An invitation was sent to N.E. ministers through John Cotton in August, 1651. An order was passed by the Council on the 23rd of March, 1656, for encouraging N.E. ministers to come to Ireland; this is alluded to in 1658. (A/14, f. 138; A/56, f. 14.)

[1] See Murcot, John; and *Par. Reg. Soc.*, iii, p. 13, where he is described as at St. Michan's.

SCHOOLMASTERS AND SCHOOLMISTRESSES

This list is principally compiled from the Civil Lists and lists of ministers' payments for 1654 (A/33, f. 77), 1655 (A/19, f. 39), 1656 A/20, f. 32), 1657–9 (A/22, f. 10 a), 1657–60 (A/25, ff. 8, 171, 219). The letter E denotes clergy of the Irish Church.

SCHOOLMASTERS

Bainbrigge, Edward. Clonmel, C.L. 1654 ; susp. for drunkenness and gaming, but rest. 1659. (A/16, f. 79 a; A/91, ff. 188–9.)

Barcroft, Ambrose. Birr, 1657.

E. Baskerville, John. Queen's Co., 1652. (A/58, f. 33.)

Birkett, John. Naas, C.L. 1654 ; Prec. Dublin later.

Birne, Gerald. Mullingar, 1657.

Birtbetch, Thomas. Dundalk, C.L. 1654.

Blith, James. Belfast, C.L. 1654 ; Boyle, C.L. 1655.

Bouch, Philip. Cavan, C.L. 1655 ; susp. 1657.

E. Boyle, Richard. Kinsale, C.L. 1655.

Brereton, John. Wexford, 1657.

Brookes, John. Waterford, C.L. 1654.

Butler, James. Galway, C.L. 1655.

Carey, Florence. Usher, Prec. Dublin, in 1659.

Carr, John. Dublin in 1651. (A/57, f. 30.)

Chaloner, John. Athlone, June 1657 (till further order, or until Mr. Erasmus Smith establish an allowance for him).

Clerke, Joshua. Limerick, C.L. 1655.

Cooley, ——. App. to Sligo, but did not accept, C.L. 1654.

Copley, Henry. Baltimore (Cork), C.L. 1654.

Cornwall, John. Belfast, C.L. 1654.

Crofton, William. Derry, C.L. 1655 ; Boyle, 1657.

Curtis, Richard. New Ross, C.L. 1655.

Davenport, Ralph. Antrim (till 1658).

Davyes, Richard. Carrickfergus, C.L. 1655.

Digman, Christopher. Cloncabogh (Roscommon), in 1652. (C/13.)

Dilgarno, John. Petitioned for free-school of Dungannon, Feb. 1661. (A/25, f. 392 a.)

Dobson, William. Drogheda, C.L. 1655 ; dead before 1657.

Drummond, Henry. Tullow (Waterford), 1657.

Finch, William. Derry, 1656.

Fitzranna, Denis. Kildare, susp. about 1655 for not officiating.

E. Fitzsimons, Philemon. Cork, 1655.

Forbs, Walter. Limerick, C.L. 1655.
Frith, William. Writing-master, Waterford, C.L. 1654.
E. Gunn, Hugh. Free-school of Dublin in 1656. (A/2, f. 374.)
Harvy, Edward. Athy, C.L. 1655.
Hasleam, Thomas. Lisburn, C.L. 1654.
Heyne, Morgan. Carlow, C.L. 1654.
Hill, William. Free-school of Dublin in 1656, possibly in succession to Gunn.
Hobson, Jonas. Wexford, C.L. 1655; dead before 1657.
James, Thomas. Kilmallock, 1657.
E. Jenkins, Cadwallader. Loughrea, 1657.
Jones, Lawrence. Drogheda, 1657.
Jones, Samuel. Galway, C.L. 1654.
Larimore, Moses. Swords, C.L. 1655.
Lloyd, Edward. Free-school at Limerick in 1658.
Marsden, Josiah. Carlow, 1657.
Meverley, ——. Loughrea, C.L. 1654; dead before 1657.
Mickle, Alexander. Waterford before 1660. (A/25, f. 219.)
Mirley, Edward. Cork, 1658.
Neale, Laughlin. Maryborough, 1656.
Newcome, John. Downpatrick before 1657.
Newton, John. Free-school of Belturbet, 1661. (A/25, f. 403.)
Noble, Henry. Mallow, 1657.
O'Dowda, Donnogh. Ballycastle (Antrim), C.L. 1655.
Osmington, Thomas. Kilkenny, C.L. 1654.
Owen, Maurice. Cashel, 1653.
Peirce, Robert. Coleraine, C.L. 1654.
Price, Henry. Callan (Kilkenny), 1657.
Sandes, Robert. Kilkenny, C.L. 1655.
Sashatt, David. Cork, C.L. 1654.
Savage, George. Armagh, 1658.
Scrugges, William. Bandon, 1655.
E. Sherrin, Cornelius. Ennis, 1656.
Smith, John. Carrickfergus, C.L. 1655.
Steere, William. Ardfert, 1656.
Stephenson, John. Dublin, C.L. 1654.
Swarbreak (Swartbrech), Lawrence. Lurgan, 1656.
Taylor, Robert. Usher to Stephenson in Dublin, C.L. 1655.
Turbridge, John. Trim, C.L. 1654.
Turvin, Baptist. Galway, 1655 (may not have been appointed).
Ward, Anthony. Clonmel by 1653. (A/58, f. 214.)
Watson, Thomas. Trim, 1658.
Watts, John. Usher in Limerick, C.L. 1655.
Welsh, Richard. Usher in Dublin, 1655; Carlow, 1659.
Whitehall, Robert. Limerick, 1657.

SCHOOLMISTRESSES

Ainger, Bridget. Trim, C.L. 1654.
Colebrooke, Mary. Prec. Athy, C.L. 1654.
Holland, Mary. Prec. Trim, C.L. 1654.
Peirson, Ann. Clonmel, 1659.
Pressick, Elizabeth. Trim, C.L. 1655:
Smith, Hannah. Prec. Kilkenny, C.L. 1654.
Spencer, Katherine. Prec. Clonmel, C.L. 1654.
Wells, Elizabeth. Prec. Kilkenny, C.L. 1654.

THE SUBMISSION OF MINISTERS IN COUNTY CORK

The following documents came to light too late for inclusion in the last chapter of this book. They are taken from a volume of miscellaneous papers on Irish affairs now in the Chetham Library, Manchester. For a table of contents see Appendix to second report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 156. For a transcript of them I am indebted to the librarian, Miss Bramhall. In places they appear to be illegible. They evidently refer to the change of attitude of those Episcopalian clergy in Co. Cork who, headed by Edward Worth, were inclined to Presbyterianism. The submission itself was enclosed in a covering letter of Worth's, which may be given first of all.

' These for the Right Reverend father in God John [Bramhall] Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Primate of all Ireland, his Grace my very good Lord at Dublin.

May it please your Grace,

Apprehensions that the Irish will find favour have raised the fears, and these the discontents, of all sorts of people in all parts where I have been since I came from Dublin, how easily a discontent may be blown up into a flame, especially if a pretence of religion becomes the bellows, we have as much cause as ever people had to preconceive. I beseech your grace to remind those about his Majesty of that old experienced truth that when once the multitude have entertained suspicions, reasons to the contrary are not like to prevail with them. And herein I should not have been thus presumptuous but that my fears are not light.

In this county [Cork] though I think the inhabitants better disposed than in any other part of Ireland yet I perceive the endeavours of the factious to stir up jealousies have been too effectual. But through mercy I hope the satisfaction given to the ministers by his Majesty's declaration and their unanimous sub-

mission thereon, to the use of the liturgy will very much weaken those endeavours because it removes those marks of distinction whereby the factious were directed to ( ) materially for their turbulent designs.

The ministers spent most part of last week here with me, and after several debates resolved (two only excepted) on the enclosed paper, and to read the same this last Lord's Day in their respective churches. Such a public declaration may, I hope, abate the confident expectations of the factious, and thereby prevent the temptations of others to close with them, at least engage the ministers themselves to be more watchful against such. They were willing to have subscribed the paper, but I designedly declined, not only because I apprehended it against the Canons and a dangerous precedent, but also because I shall not dare to yield to anything of that kind without the express commands of my superiors. This work being done here I intend (if God permit) to return to Dublin next week, unless your grace shall otherwise determine the service of

My Lord
your Grace in all duty and observance
Ringrone, 3 Dec. 1660 Edw : Worth '

The Submission, which is the ' enclosed paper ' to which he refers, runs as follows :

' The Humble Submission of the Ministers in the County of Cork to his Majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs.

Dated 25 of October, 1660.

No blessing is more desirable than peace, no peace more than the peace of the Church, on this account the Saints of old prayed for the peace of Babylon, much more of Jerusalem, because in the peace thereof the Church had peace. But prayers unaccompanied with suitable endeavours are provocations of God (as it were) to His face. As therefore we bless the Lord for His power, wisdom, and goodness wonderfully preserving his Majesty's person, restoring his sacred authority, directing his royal counsels to repair breaches civil and religious. And as we beg the Prince of Peace to complete His own work in speaking peace to His people that they return not again to folly, so in subserviency thereto we judge it our duty by suitableness of affections and actions to profess our real thankfulness for those healing mercies applied by his Majesty's gracious declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs dated 25 of October last past. And in obedience as well to the expresses of his Majesty's desires therein as to the established laws of the land we shall observe duly in our respective cures those parts of the Church Liturgy or Common

Prayer against which we know no just exception. Whereto we conceive ourselves more strictly engaged because we live in the midst of papists, who are not distinguished by any other legal character but that of recusancy to the Common Prayer, and without some kind of legal distinction it is impossible that either his Majesty's ( ) or those who are sent by him should effectually promote reformation, and without that improbable that the interests of the English nation or Protestant religion should in this kingdom be long secured. We expect that the ( ) will hereon shoot out their arrows, even bitter words, and by different engines undermine our work by weakening our esteem to the hearts of God's people.

He that walks in the day of his duty stumbleth not, and he that will follow Christ must deny himself, and as he who judgeth it not his duty to do things without just exception desired by his Majesty, commanded by laws for the peace of the Church, will scarcely judge ought his duty, for we fear he will not deny himself in that empty opinion called reputation in discharge of duty, will scarce in anything deny himself to follow Christ. Yet we must confess before God, angels, and men that we believe one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, whereof the Church of Christ in this kingdom we believe to be a genuine member, from whose very breasts we have sucked this principle, that ecclesiastical constitutions are alterable and changeable and not to be accounted equal with the Word of God, in the virtue of which principle, when public necessity enforced it, we all omitted many things legally established, and some desired alterations in these establishments; attending the flock though the fold were broken down, rather than exposing the sheep to wolves till the fold should be refixed, and in virtue of these same principles the laws of the land being restored to their due power.

In conscience of duty we likewise return to the active obedience of these laws with thankful acknowledgement for his Majesty's gracious indulgence as to the penalties determined by law. To these particulars concerning which some of us do at present conscientiously scruple, wherein though our practices are justly varied through variety of circumstances, yet that variety naturally flows from one and the same principle of truth and unity.

If others be otherwise minded and seem contentious about things indifferent, as if they were simply necessary when God hath not commanded, or simply unlawful when God hath not countermanded them, we shall only say that we have not so learned Christ, neither have we any such customs in the churches of God.'

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